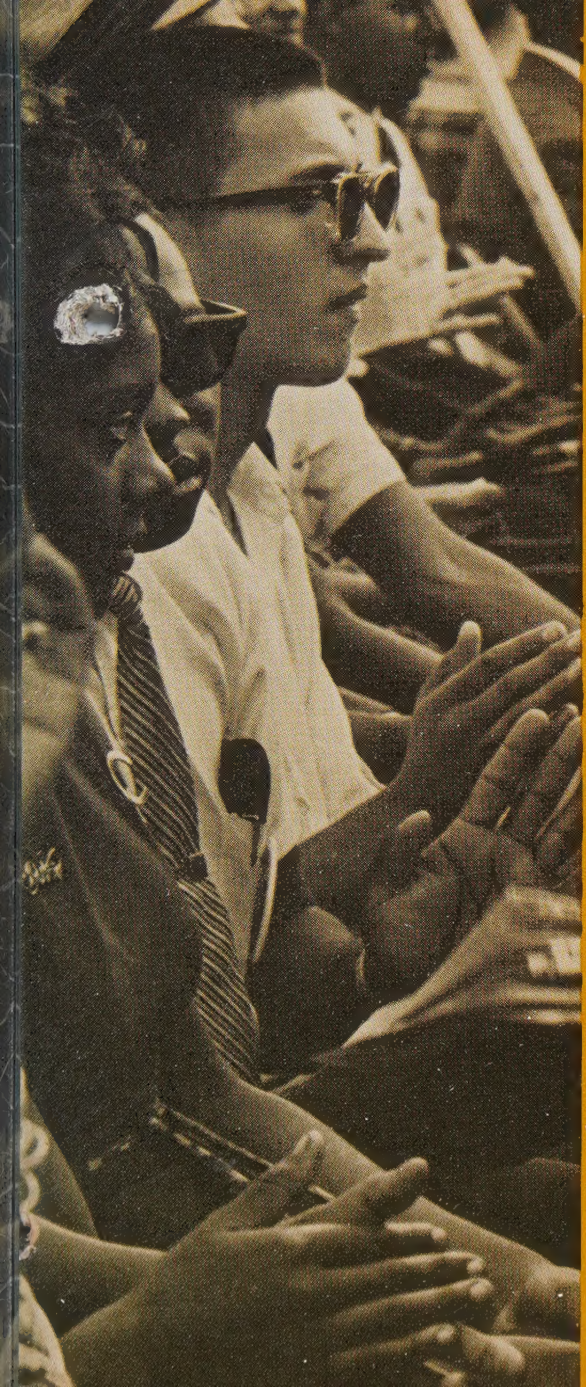

Youth

Religious Education
EXHIBIT
Pacific School of Religion

For he is our peace,
who has made us
both one, and
has broken down
the wall
of hostility . . .
that he might . . .
reconcile us both
to God in one body
through the cross,
thereby bringing
the hostility
to an end.

—Ephesians 2: 14-16

a conflict within ourselves

Nothing in our lifetime has stirred you and me as deeply as has the cur racial crisis. Never have the foundations of our life—the very purpos our being—been so bluntly exposed. Nothing in the next few years cause us more personal anxiety than the working out of this conflict wi ourselves, sparked by the increasing discipline of accepting one the human beings and living side-by-side. No group has more at sta nd is more capable of facing this conflict, than you who are youth. The f are clear, but not the solutions.

Science tells us: (1) That the color of skin, size of lips, shape of nose, dition of hair do not determine the mental capacity of a person, do not trol his morals or his disposition to work or to loaf. (2) That the false of such notions about another person is usually nurtured by a deep insecu within the person harboring such prejudice. (3) That any relation based on such false notions is detrimental to both parties involved. harm to the victim of prejudice is obvious. But the harm to the prejud person is less evident but no less devastating. Justified prejudice ra exists, but to the prejudiced person his grievance looks real. He is decei himself. A life built on such deceit can only eventually destroy itself, perhaps others, unless it is brought out in the open and dealt with hone

Our Christian faith says to us: That all men are equal in the recei of God's love. That at the point where any man stands in the way of other's knowing God's love, he is standing in the way of God's purpo That all men are brothers, each suffering the other's pain and rejoicin the other's joys. That we should love God with all our being and our br ers as ourselves. That if we do not love our brothers whom we can see, cannot love God whom we cannot see.

Our democratic way of life says: That all men are to have equal op tunity to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That it is wrong f man to discriminate against another because of religion, national origin race. That a man is innocent until proven guilty. That full citizenship is to be denied to any man because of the color of his skin.

Thus racial discrimination is a blunt denial of our basic humanness, of Christian faith, and of our democratic way of life. Is not the quest therefore, not so much what is right and what is wrong, but *how can make right that which is wrong* within our own personality, within earthly, institutionalized Body of Christ, and within our land of the f

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'or the Christian, the *manner* in which we achieve equality and justice must e as Christ-approving as the *goals* we seek. Thus, in the spirit of recon-iliation, we must show as much compassion for the segregationist as we ask im to show toward the Negro. In the spirit of justice, we should not show nfair preference to the Negro because of the color of his skin anymore than 're should treat him unjustly because of the color of his skin. And the hurch should be one place where we can all seek after truth and act for the ight without mutual rejection of one another. We must fight injustice with ustice with kindness with truth, bigotry with love, apathy with zeal.

This racial crisis then is a personal crisis for each of us—a test of what we ally are, measured against scientific truth, against our faith in a loving od, and against the foundations of our nation. We may be frightened by hat is revealed within our own deepest being. We may feel threatened. Ve may respond in panic, in anger, in silence, or in honest facing of the icts, or in love. We cannot avoid this issue. History has forced our hand. Ve must answer *now*. This is not simply a Southern problem, for the subtle rejudice and silence of most Northerners is just as wrong as the open preju-ice of the South. And this is not only the Negro's problem, it is the problem f *all* mankind. It is God's judgment on man's actions, and inaction. There no problem today which is more basic to the destiny of our nation.

We may seek all sorts of escapes. We may blame the Negro for stirring p trouble. We may curse and beat up those who demonstrate. We may stracize our friends who dare to challenge falseness. We may fire ministers r preaching the "good news" of God's redeeming love for *all* men. We ay cancel our subscriptions to publications that sincerely seek an answer to ur problems. We may vote men out of office who support civil rights legis-tion. But we cannot escape a final facing of this problem.

Recognizing the deep and widespread disagreement among church mem-ers on this problem, we are open to your response. *To encourage your delv-g into this problem, we have prepared this special 64-page issue of* YOUTH *agazine, aided by the Committee on Racial Justice Now and the Youth inistry of the United Church of Christ. We hope that this edition sparks all to do some intelligent and compassionate thinking and acting. We elcome the airing of your thoughts and feelings and experiences—pro and n. We will print the best of your letters on all phases of this problem in a ture issue of* YOUTH *magazine. In fact, if the response is worthwhile, we e willing to give over an entire issue of our magazine to such a forum on cial justice now, because we believe intensely in the need for such nuine give and take among all followers of Christ everywhere.*

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there is a revolutio

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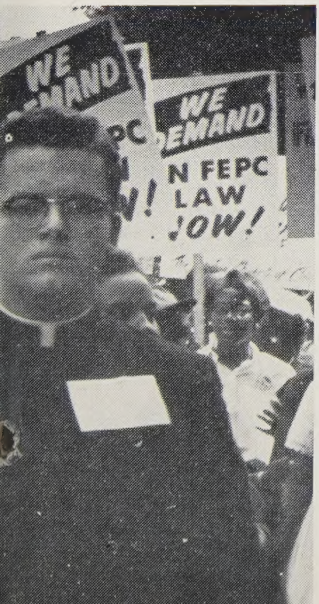


There is a revolution going on. It is all-pervading, going deep into the guts of society and changing the basic framework of existence and the very fabric of thought. It is basically concerned with what it means and costs to be human. More and more people are convinced that the old order of things which denies basic human rights must go. Being human, therefore, equals human rights.

This revolution cannot be stopped, not even by its leaders even if they want to. It is gathering momentum rapidly. It is moving inexorably like the tide, pushing everything before it. Like any irresistible force, it meets immovable objects which dam it up, for a time, but it soon smashes through carrying everything else before it. Talk will not stop it, force will not stop it, tyranny will not stop it.

This revolution has no geographical limitations. It is in Africa, Asia, Latin America. It is in the North, the South, the East, the West. No one knows where it is going to break out next.

The revolution is significant in that it is from the little people, the despised people, the disinherited people, the under-loved people, people of color. It comes from their passion, from deep down inside, from the feeling that for the sake of society and all other men, they must push on every frontier to get all, here and now, of what is their just due. The big news is that the little people are prepared to go all the way in terms of sacrifice and risk to get it.

The mood is a new mood among

the oppressed people of color—they no longer come with hat in hand a shuffling feet to engage in sophisticated begging for their rights. They adamant. They will accept no deals. They want what they should hav complete acceptance as human beings in the mainstream of life with all rights, privileges, opportunities and responsibilities that this implies. T want to live as abundantly as possible right now and see no practical rea why this life should be deferred. They want it not only for [redacted]sel but for everybody. What established routines or styles of life this [redacted]set not their problem, but that of the white man. They are not even of a m to be grateful for past favors, recognizing them to be only crumbs fro well-provided table.

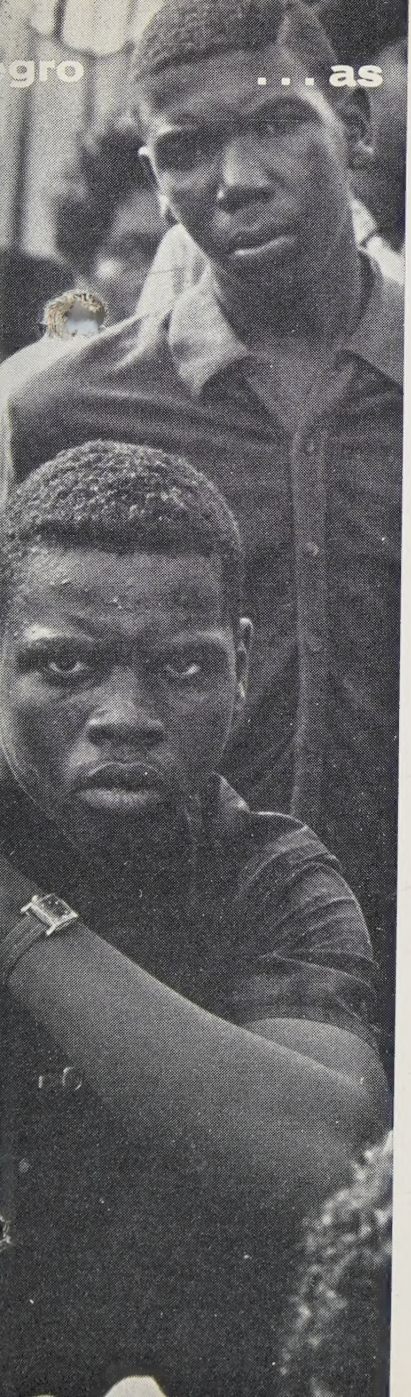
They want people everywhere to face integration of all people as a fun mental moral issue. If contemporary society does not face up to this f then the Negro people are prepared to say "the hell with it," and smash whole rotten fabric to pieces, taking upon themselves before God the construction of a better world from the ruins of an old one that is a and a mockery to God's purposes.

Who is responsible for this revolution? If you are going to bla anybody, blame Jesus the Christ. He started it all. Jesus started it w he came to his own home town and spoke these revolutionary words: "T Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach g news to the poor, he has sent me to proclaim release to the captives a recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed demonstrate that now is the time when men may find acceptance with Lord."

When Jesus had finished pouring out his soul in this incendiary sta ment, all eyes were upon him. Then he said, now is the time to pract what we so glibly preach. At that moment, the revolution had start He laid it so clearly on the line that the people were enraged, and he h to shake the home town dust from his feet.

Thereafter Jesus committed his very life, all that he had and all that was, and went all the way, even to the Cross, to proclaim and witness the glorious truth that God in his great love includes everybody, even vicious, the ugly, the mean, the incompetent, the unwashed, the sinne shaking them up by his cutting judgment, but ultimately accepting eve one and excluding no one. Therefore, we shall accept everyone and exclu no one. Nobody is to be robbed of his God-given right as a human being child of God, and a peer among other humans, no matter how irresponsi he may be in exercising this birthright.

This full commitment of Jesus the Christ to humanity is at the r of all subsequent revolutions to affirm the dignity, equality, and freedom man. The present revolution to integrate the American Negro into mainstream of American life is an expression of the original revoluti



. . . as a human being

started by our Lord. So blame Jesus. Blame him for the discontent, the turmoil, the crisis, the upsets to a cherished and traditional way of life. Blame Jesus for laying it on the line.

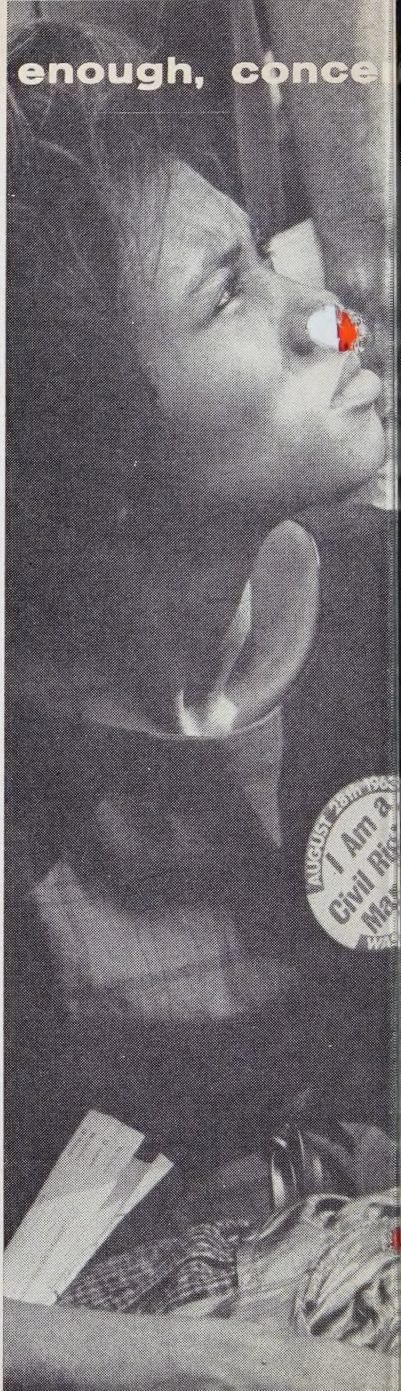
What is the role of the Church? Now the Church is the extension of the ministry initiated by Jesus, and is his heir for marshalling and carrying through to fulfillment needed revolutions in his name at particular times and in particular places. The Church is the present instrument of God's action, the embodiment of the living Christ, the enabling agent of his purpose. Whether it knows it or not. Whether it did it consciously or unconsciously. Blame the Church for starting this revolution, by holding out to every man the image of himself as equal to every other man, as well as pronouncing the judgment that no man can be completely human so long as the essential humanity of every other man is denied. It is impossible to read the Old and New Testaments without realizing that all men are basically equal in their humanity and depravity and that acceptance of all people as people is the touchstone of the contemporary racial revolution.

The key question is whether or not the Negro is to be accepted as a true human being without regard to color or visible difference. Whether he can be known as a man and not as a colored man. But, the white man says, I *do* accept the Negro as a human being—"if he'll stay in his place, or if he doesn't move next door, or if he doesn't marry my son or my daughter." But are these ex-

ceptions true to honest acceptance of the genuine humanity of the Negro? If and when we in America can accept the proposition that a Negro may marry whomever he loves and whomever loves him, it means the Negro is genuinely being accepted as a human being. Otherwise, it means that in the eyes of a white man the Negro is still a second-class man, a kind of animal, with no real status or dignity as a human being.

Unless the Christian churches genuinely accept the Negro as a human being, all their preachments are in vain. Then they are playing Lady Bountiful, standing by to be of help to the Negro as they would to an inferior, but not yet ready to admit that he is a person. The Church will either prove itself or destroy itself on the basis of its response to this key question of the humanity of the Negro. The rights of a man are equal to his being human.

Can any man walk with dignity on the sidewalk, and be an authentic human being, so long as his colored brother is forced to walk in the gutter? The Church cannot pussyfoot any more. The role for the Church to play is clear. She has to get off the sidewalk and walk in the gutter with her Negro brother, bearing his burdens and ready to "go for broke" with him, until both can return to the sidewalk with all color bars completely obliterated. To this end she must commit everything. No more new churches should be built, no more new organs purchased, and no more new church sites acquired



ntil this all important struggle to achieve full equality has been won. What the Church is called to do is to put herself and all her resources terms of consecrated money, dedicated people, and sanctified imagination nack-dab in the middle of the Negro's struggle, suffering what he suffers, nd forgetting her pretensions to glory, riches, and honor until the Negro liberated. The Church may have to start from scratch as if she did not ave present program, asking what she must do first, second, and third. In going into the gutter, the Church goes with no props except the Vord of God and her commitment to the Negro people as people, identifying with them, ministering to their hurts and bruises, entering into every spect of their life, hope and aspirations to be equal to every man. What appens to the life of the Church will be determined by her complete lunge into the present situation. What may happen is that new life breaks rth from God's Word, shattering the irrelevant and unredemptive conmporary Church and creating a new one obedient and faithful to the inistry that God has appointed for her.

A radical overhaul is needed of all the contemporary forms and institutions of society—in business, in unions, in governments, in people, and the Church. We need to take off the dirty old clothes of thinking and orality which have covered us all these years and put on new clean clothes a new forthrightness. We need a thoroughgoing cleansing. This is what ie Church is committed to.

As a result of its commitment it is prepared to wage major warfare against ie denial of full humanity to Negroes on every front by being committed the basic situations in which its discriminated brother lives, and through ie kind of involvement that may mean humiliation and rejection. The hurch must be ready not to rest content until the Negro has become a eer among peers in every respect.

It means involvement in the struggle. To illustrate: I live in a community that has 11,500 Negro young people between 16 and 21 years of ge who are both out of school and out of work. If each church in my eighborhood were to commit itself to be responsible for 50 of these dropits, if it were to learn their situations, look into their family backgrounds, eet with them everyday, assign each one to a group of members, counsel ith school officials about them, investigate their potential for training, go businesses and unions in their behalf and get the run-around by trying to ter them into an apprenticeship training program. After a period of six onths, each church so committed to such teenagers would know more out the drop-out problem than anybody else in the whole country. They uld know it inside out, through having committed themselves to victims deprivation and exclusion, and from their having developed the comtence to solve the problem.

This is where the Church begins. It is for and with its Negro brethren

all the way as Christ is for and with it all the way. This means such i immersion in his situation as white Christians taking the initiative to j predominantly Negro churches and denominations, move back into Ne ghettos, and participate in Negro demonstrations. This means wh suburban churches buying houses and selling them to Negroes so as integrate their communities. This means that the pressure for demonstrat until something is done comes mainly from the white Christian c[illegible]uni That there will be more demonstrations for justice in the suburbs [illegible]d centers of power than in Negro areas.

After all, it is not a Negro problem. It is a problem mainly of t white's non-acceptance of Negroes that has led to all the other proble Imagine the consternation and havoc caused by a marching army of whi on the halls of Congress, sitting in the gallery, buttonholing their Congre man who lives next door, pushing on every front even into the inner sa tums of finance and industry, refusing to desist from demonstrating u these institutions faced squarely the lot of the Negro as a man. Wh I am asking for is for the white community to join the revolution t and join now. It is not a struggle by Negroes for Negro advancement. is a struggle of all people for all people in order that the basic rights humanity shall be extended to *everyone.* It is the role of the Churc predominantly white in complexion, to make certain that everyone pla his rightful role of participation in it. If his brother is discriminated again he is discriminated against, since he is robbed of the privilege of a full l and narrowed in his selection of friends.

Can the church do it? This is an awful responsibility which t Church has, that of extending the revolution so that whites join in t and get committed to initiate a new society. Can the Church as an stitution accept the Negro as a full human being without any bar as to color? And more importantly, will the Church work in and through t other structures of society toward this end?

Maybe it can't. If it can't, then maybe the Negro ought to say th since Christianity does not really erase the barriers that men have mad since it still regards the Negro as less than a human person, he ought withdraw from it and get a new religion. This would be logical if Neg Christians were only committed to an institution. Then Malcolm X wou be right in saying that all Negroes must come out and join a religion black men for black men. But we are not committed to an institution. W are not committed to any particular structure or shape or form of religio *We are committed to Christ.* We are committed to the one who start the revolution—this means basic commitment to the espousal of full h manity of and for *all* people.

Perhaps it is our role in history to be starting not what we think is civil and political revolution. We may now be engaged in a revolution th

until all men can walk with dignity

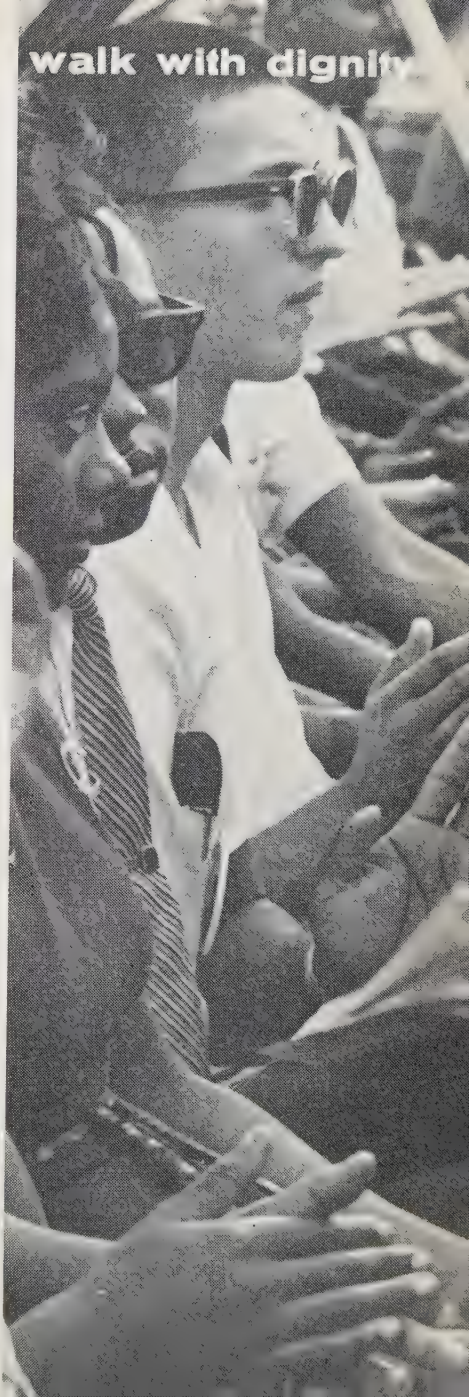
s basically and ultimately a religious
ne which may change the very
tructure of Christendom. We may
e initiating in and through this
resent Negro revolt something that
ill ultimately change the very warp
nd [illegible] of man's basic thinking
bout himself and others; i.e., a new
eformation, a new renaissance, and
new determination of men to live
aithfully, obediently, creatively, and
qually before God and each other.
o let's make it a world revolt of
lacks, whites, reds, yellows, and
rowns marching together for the
ake of *all* mankind.

The revolution is on. All my
hristian brothers, regardless of
olor or economic circumstance, are
alled to get in it and get with it;
hites, Negroes, Spanish-Americans,
rientals, Indians, suburbanites, ex-
rbanites, the rich, the poor, the
oung, the old, the deviates. It is
eing fought for the coming to au-
ientic humanity of the whole lot
us. We are the poor, we are the
ptives, we are the blind, we are
e oppressed, coming to find full
ceptance with the Lord and with
ch other.

History, the province of God's
cisive revelation, is today saying
at unless Negroes and whites are
gether as the hand in all matters,
cial, economic, and cultural, and
e rejoicing in their common des-
y and equality, this nation shall
rish.

—J. ARCHIE HARGRAVES

ror's Note: The above article is based on
erpts from a speech given at the Youth Forum
Atlanta in June (see pages 50-53).



The Joy of Sharing in Learning

THE TUTORIAL PROJECT

A little extra boost is all many high school students need to get over that ine line between passing or failing. And so, if you were to visit certain hurches, schools, community centers, or boys clubs in Boston, New York, hiladelphia, Washington, Cleveland, or San Francisco, you would find mall huddles of Negro and white students meeting at night during the veek. They would be intently talking and listening to each other. School extbooks would be open and chalk marks might cover a blackboard. They re taking part in what is called the "Tutorial Project"—an experiment in educ[illegible] and in interpersonal relations.

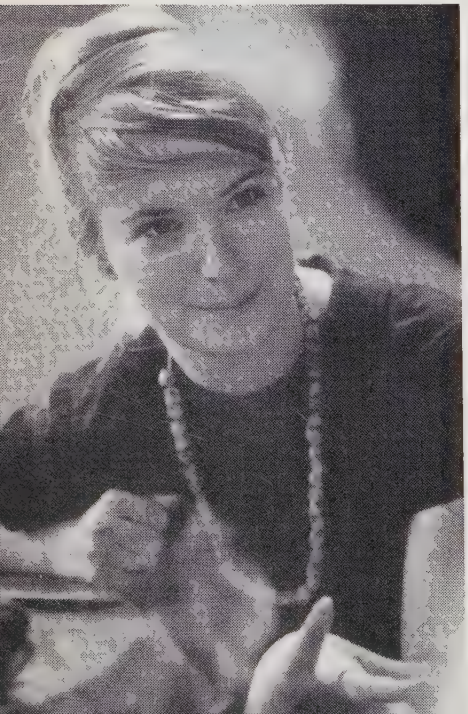
In the fall of 1961, in response to a growing concern of college students n the North about the race problem, an organization called the Northern Student Movement was born at Yale University in New Haven, Conn. Its nembers included people from over 35 New England colleges, who wanted o find new ways of doing practical things, of helping students who had been deprived of certain advantages because of color. As a result, pilot projects were started the following summer in several cities on the East Coast. These projects were to experiment with educating high school students in low-income communities, largely Negro, many of whom might never have a chance for college, might be planning to drop out of school, or might need extra help in subjects they failed.

But the bases for the creation of the Tutorial Project were not educational; they were racial. These college students felt that one very important way to overcome prejudices and unrealized misgivings and fears was o have person-to-person contact between races—to really get to know omeone of another color as a Person. And they knew that they themselves needed and wanted this contact as much as anyone deeply committed to the principles of civil rights.

Each project in each city has its own administrators who are college tudents, recent graduates, or interested persons in the area. To these ffices come the names of teen-age students who want and need tutoring. These teens may have signed up themselves, have been recommended by heir school counselor, or have been urged by their parents to get some extra elp in their studies. Tutors volunteer from local colleges and universities n the city and its suburbs. For three or four hours a week they meet with heir one or two tutees. It is an informal and unprofessional method of ducation. The tutors are unskilled in teaching; the tutees are unskilled n communicating. Mutual learning is a keynote.

In Philadelphia, one of the initial pilot projects, the program is in its econd year. In this one city there are now over 20 centers in operation nvolving over 600 tutees and 400 tutors. And because of a lack of tutors, here is always a waiting list of high school students wishing to participate n the program.

How is the project financed? The main costs are in administering the roject—running a clearing office, getting out pamphlets, signing up kids,



making their work known and av
able to as many people as possib
The tutors give their time; the tut
pay nothing. These administrat
costs are met by grants given to
project by corporations who are c
vinced the work is worthy of su
port.

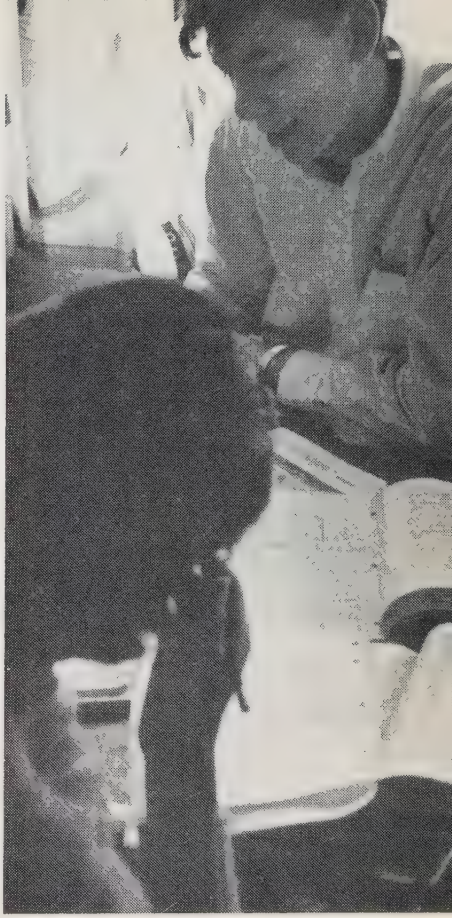
The greatest advantage, *and* d
advantage, of the project is its loc
structure. The one-to-one basis
student-to-teacher is much need
since crowded public schools ha
classes of 40 or more students a
regimentation is pronounced. Wi
a single tutor, high school tee
have a chance to express what th
are learning, to talk, and to recei
individual attention—an experien
they may have never had before.
the same time, the casual atm
phere leads to problems of atte
dance. Tutees often come when
session is half over; tutors som
times get too busy and can't co
at all. Both situations can be d
appointing to the other. With o
two nights a week, time is importa
And sporadic attendance mea
sporadic interest by both tutor a
tutee.

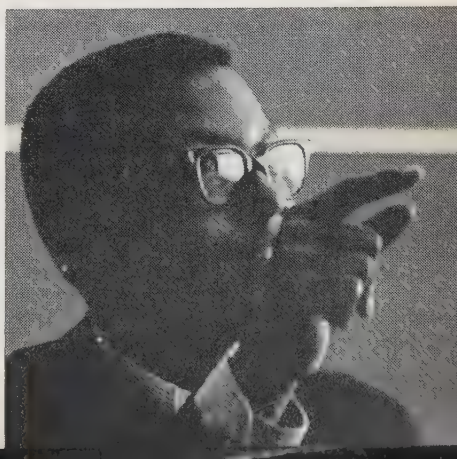
A second joy, *and* frustration,
the project is the cultural gap
tween the student and teacher. It
difficult for a college student
realize that his tutee in English
the eleventh grade level does
capitalize the magazine title, *T*
Saturday Review, because she d
not know it is a magazine. Or
junior high boy who doesn't kn
that "skunk" is an animal becau
he has only heard it used by
mother in relation to his fath

Knowledge assimilated by one's cultural environment is taken for granted too often. Reading ability is sometimes acquired too easily by those more privileged. And intelligence cannot be concluded simply by the score on an academic test or the ability to express ideas coherently.

On the other hand, there is the mutual joy known by both student and teacher of being needed and sharing in learning. One sixth grade Negro girl, who is trying to learn to multiply, says anxiously after each session: "You will be here next week, won't you?" She then goes on to express her desire to do more than one page of problems in preparation for the next time. However, others are more reluctant to show enthusiasm and the only gauge with which to measure their reaction to the tutoring and personal relationship with the tutor is the fact that they continue to come week after week.

The Tutorial Project is an ideal made into a reality. Its idealism is reflected in both the haphazard sense of organization, and the committed purpose with which the students take part. In spite of, and because of, its trial and error approach, it has had effective, though limited, success. Its scope is small at present but its hopes for the future are big. Because its appeal is genuine and its approach honest, the idea has already spread through many of the major cities in the country. The Tutorial Project is one way in which students from two different segments of our population are working to catch up with each other. ▼





I wanted to do m

"I wanted to do something more about racial justice than just talk about I was tired of being a frustrated Christian." These were the sentiments one of the young girls from Ohio who participated this summer in an inte racial fellowship experience in Atlanta, Ga.

She was able to do something when young people and their families the First Congregational Church of Atlanta were hosts in August to 29 you people and three adult leaders from the Ohio Conference of the Unit Church of Christ. Family living, by common consent, was the high po of the two weeks' experience. One Ohioan wrote, "Although I gain insight on the Negro's position in the South, I feel that I gained a mo valuable insight into my own feelings about the Negro by living as a famil

Each day began with Bible study with the group studying Amos, Mic and Hosea the first week and some of the teachings of Jesus the secon The forgiving love of Hosea and the imperativeness of Jesus' command "love your enemies" took on a new meaning in an interracial group in t South. Four afternoons were spent on work projects, painting the inter

an talk about racial justice...

f a day nursery in a housing development and painting screens and window rim at a Y. W. C. A.

Being in Atlanta gave the group an opportunity to meet with many of ne leaders in the freedom movement and to hear what these groups are oing. Dorothy Cotton told of the work of CORE (Congress on Racial Equality) and taught the young people freedom songs. Old spirituals such s "Hold On" and "Certainly, Lord," were brought up to date with references o the fight for freedom, making the whole matter come alive. John Lewis f the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee began his talk by aying, "I'm 24 years old and I've been in jail 24 times," and then he went n to describe the drive for Negro voter registration in the South and the rice some were paying to persuade others to exercise their constitutional ting rights. Robert Thompson of the Urban League told of what that ganization was doing to procure better housing for Negroes. Rev. Andy oung, a United Church of Christ minister and on the staff of the Southern hristian Leadership Conference, brought the young people up-to-date on

. . . I fou

the sit-ins and described his group's voter education program. Senat Leroy Johnson, first Negro member of the Georgia legislature since reco struction days, talked to the group, as did Ivan Allen, the mayor of Atlan

As the two weeks went on, the need of witnessing to Atlanta became more importance. This was done by the young people doing things togeth in public in a natural way. One Saturday 20 of the group visited a former segregated swimming pool to witness that Negro and white could have good time together. Some white adults gathered to watch and to disapprov Some of the group went over and talked with them, not to prove the wrong, but to listen and explain, all the while seeking to speak the reconc ing word. On the last day of the fellowship venture, the young people we in groups of four to eight to various downtown restaurants, most of the integrated. Unknown to the group, many of these restaurants had de-i tegrated and our young people were asked to leave. This gave rise to th opportunity to talk with the restaurant people about integration.

Sometimes spectators showed their disapproval of the interracial group One man found it necessary to spit on the sidewalk in front of a grou coming out of a restaurant. Another man expressed his feelings by stamp

impossible to sit idly by

ng on the foot of one of the girls as she stood on a street corner with her friends. Every time that it was possible, though, the young people sought to talk with those who were upset with what they saw.

Next summer the fellowship experience will continue as the Ohioans will be hosts to the young people of Atlanta in their homes and at a state-wide senior high conference.

The young people came away from the experience in Atlanta feeling that teenagers could do something positive for race relations. Sit-ins and demonstrations may be for those older but a place was seen for second-line witnessing, showing how racial and color differences do not matter, and speaking a reconciling word of love to those fearful about integration.

After returning home, one Ohio teen wrote, "Three others from this area and I have been working to get our youth groups involved with Negro groups in our area. Not all the people in our towns will favor what we're doing, but we feel that with just ourselves and a handful of real friends we'll be able to accomplish much. We must take the stand. If we don't, the trip will be a memory, and we will have failed those friends we made in Atlanta."

—RICHARD WEST

a man can get killed . . . for try

When you think of the things that happen there under the banner democracy, it's hard to believe that some counties in Mississippi are actu in the United States. If you ask members of the White Citizens Council w a Negro is beaten as he goes to the county courthouse to register to vo they'll say that "those outside agitators are coming in to disturb our Negr and in order to protect the rights of our state, we use any methods that at our disposal."

Back in 1957, in one Mississippi town, they had a voter registration dr and 450 Negroes went down and registered to vote. The white commun got incensed and applied pressure. The number of Negro voters dropp to three. The other 400 or so withdrew their names from the registrat rolls. Of the three Negroes remaining on the rolls, one was shot in the he and chased out of the county and state. A second one—a minister—w shot and killed. And the third person, and the only Negro in that town w is registered to vote, is the wife of the minister who was killed. A nothing's been done about it.

Our position is that, first of all, we're human. We're people and we supposed to be protected by the Constitution of the United States. But w can't we have *all* the rights of the Constitution like everybody else? we're a part of the public, let us use *public* facilities. If we're consider citizens of the United States, give us *all* the rights that citizens are suppos to have, such as the right to vote. And the right to vote has not been firm established for the Negroes in Mississippi, Alabama, southwest Georg and northern Louisiana. This is still a land where a Negro could be sh and killed for trying to register to vote.

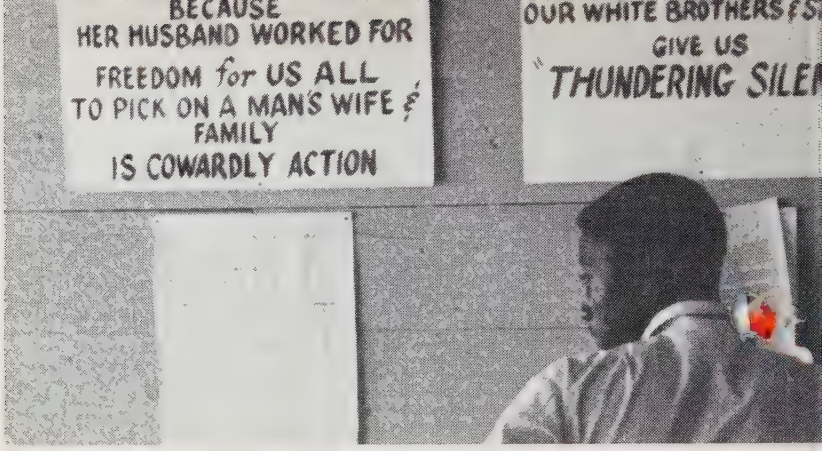
We feel this is wrong. In the state of Mississippi, 15 of us are tryi to get the franchise to vote for some 300,000 or 400,000 Negroes who ha been denied this franchise. There are some 900,000 Negroes in Mississip Less than four percent of them are registered to vote. And 47 percent the state's population is Negro. In 1961, our Student Non-Violent Coordin ing Committee began its first voter registration project anywhere in t South in Mississippi.

What happened? In November 1961, five Negroes went with Rob Moses, a SNCC field secretary, to register to vote. Later Robert Mo was attacked by a mob and needed eight stitches. Two weeks later, a other SNCC field secretary, John Hardy, brought three Negroes to regis to vote in another town. The registrar pulled a shotgun on him and t him to get out. As Hardy turned to leave, he was hit over the head w a shotgun. When he reported the incident to the sheriff, the sheriff arrest him for breach of peace. And so the stories go. Others have been kill many have been beaten, shot at, and jailed. But you seldom hear about

One thing we want in Mississippi is federal marshals to protect Negr as they go to their county courthouse to register to vote. And the law s

register to vote

As a field secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Charlie Cobb of Springfield, Mass., is working in Mississippi to help Negroes register to vote. How did he get involved? "I was in New York in 1960 when the sit-ins broke out in the South. I felt **moved** by the sit-ins but I also felt **removed** because I was so many miles away. But I saw an opportunity to help out by picketing Woolworth's in support of the CORE group from Columbia University. In 1961, I decided to go to Howard University in Washington, D.C. However, because of my participation in sit-ins while there, I found myself in and out of jail. I saw that school and sitting-in didn't go together. So when school let out that summer, I caught a bus to Mississippi and I've been here ever since." On these pages are excerpts from a talk Charlie gave at the Youth Forum in Atlanta in June before a group of teens from many states. Since then, Charlie has spent nearly a month in jail because of his efforts to help fellow Negroes to achieve their rights.

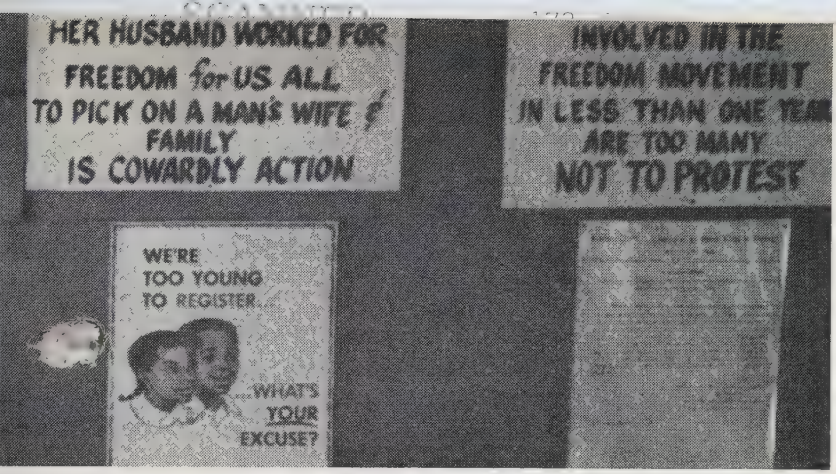


that the federal marshals have the right to use police powers in the prote tion of persons being denied their *federal* rights. They're the same thing local and state police, except one deals with local and state rights and t other deals with federal rights. What we want is at least one Wyatt Ea for every county in Mississippi.

Why is the white community afraid? In some counties in Mississippi t Negroes outnumber the whites two to one, even three to one. If enou Negroes are registered to vote, they offer a very definite challenge to t power structure there. But Negroes voting in Mississippi and other Sout ern states could also cause a radical change throughout the nation. F example, many Southern Senators and Congressmen hold strategic influen over our legislative processes in Washington, D.C., because chairmanshi of key House and Senate committees are awarded by the seniority rules Southern legislators who are re-elected unopposed term after term. Ma of these same legislators encourage segregationist policies. Somewhere alo the way, the United States has gotten its values mixed up . . . somewhe

You Northerners are guilty, too. On the one hand you say, "It's too b about those Negroes in Mississippi. Something should be done about i Yet you turn around and make the Southerners aware that you, too ha the same little doubts about whether you want the Negro to achieve l rights. The Southerner knows this. One Southerner said that if the No made a stand, the South could not withstand it. But by segregating yo selves in your segregated neighborhoods, on your segregated jobs, y indicate to the South that you too have your doubts about integration.

You say, "Yes, integration is coming, it should come, but we've got go slow. It takes time for people to get used to radical change." M response is that it's been proven that man is one of the most adaptal animals on the earth. Mississippians can go into the armed forces and down at a table next to a Negro and eat, they can cleep in the same barrac and they can participate with Negroes in all phases of activities on t



military bases. Why can't they do it out on the streets of Jackson and Greenwood, Miss., and Birmingham, Ala.? Over 200 Southern cities have integrated their lunch counters, but you don't hear about that.

In my home town in Massachusetts, a billboard says, "We don't care who you vote for as long as you get out and vote." And then the cub scouts come knocking on your door saying the same thing. In Mississippi it takes a little more than cub scouts to get Negroes registered to vote. It takes guerillas. Seriously, we're fighting guerilla warfare in Mississippi. We stalk around these little Mississippi towns, going through the back roads. When we get ready to hit a new town, we try to figure out all the possible ways in and all the possible ways out. Our cars are known all over the state. And occasionally the folks get a notion to shoot at them with us in them. I'd like to plug Rambler. Seriously, they shot at us and it didn't go through the windshield. We were safe. I've got to thank that corporation.

To the Negro in Mississippi, the right to vote is something abstract. "That's white folks' business," they tell me. "I don't want to be bothered with that votin' mess," or "You're gonna get yourself killed fooling around with these white folks." There's something wrong when a country can allow this to happen to thousands upon thousands of people. The disfranchisement of Negroes is but a symptom of what's wrong, and Mississippi is one of the roots, but not the only one. In order to clear the ground, we're digging at the roots.

Thirteen of our 15 workers in Mississippi are from that state. These college kids are determined to stay in their state and change their state. They're not running away. But what are you kids from the many Northern states doing for your home states? How much longer are you going to give silent sympathy to these Negro masses down here? How much longer are you going to allow the ghettos in your own communities? People are on the move down here. What about the people above the Mason-Dixon line? When will you begin to move?

—CHARLES COBB

FREEDOM SONGS

Spirituals have long been the expression of the religious fervor of t Negro in America. Through generations of humiliation, his faith in G has given him hope. It is natural that many of the songs of those who fig for freedom today are modern adaptations of old hymns or spiritua The song considered the "battle hymn" of the integration movement "We Shall Overcome," adapted from an old Baptist hymn of [redacted] 1900's. It is often used to close civil rights meetings and demonstratio As its stately cadences are sung, the participants cross arms in front themselves, link hands with the persons on each side and sway in rhyth to the music. Sometimes the hymn is sung in call-and-response fashi between leader and congregation; other times in unison. Sometimes t singing of the hymn may last as long as ten minutes.

I WOKE UP THIS MORNING

VERSES/ I woke up this morning with my mind set on Freedom.
Woke up this morning with my mind set on Freedom.
Woke up this morning with my mind set on Freedom.
Hallelu, Hallelu, Hallelujah.

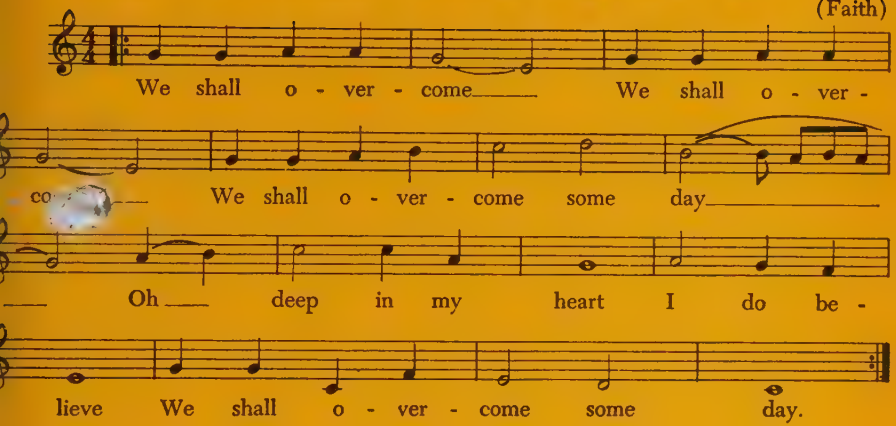
CHORUS/ Oh well—a walk, walk, Oh well—a walk, walk,
Oh well—a walk, walk, with your mind on Freedom.
Talk, talk, Oh well—a talk, talk
Oh well—a talk, talk, with your mind on Freedom.
Oh, hallelujah.

Walking and talking with my mind set on Freedom.
Walking and talking with my mind set on Freedom.
Walking and talking with my mind set on Freedom.
Hallelu, hallelu, hallelujah.

Ain't no harm in keeping your mind set on Freedom.
Ain't no harm in keeping your mind set on Freedom.
Ain't no harm in keeping your mind set on Freedom.
Hallelu, hallelu, hallelujah.

All God's children got their minds set on Freedom.
All God's children got their minds set on Freedom.
All God's children got their minds set on Freedom.
Hallelu, hallelu, hallelujah.

WE SHALL OVERCOME



VERSES/ Truth will make us free,
Truth will make us free,
Truth will make us free some day.
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
Truth will make us free some day.

We are not afraid,
We are not afraid,
We are not afraid today.
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
We are not afraid today.

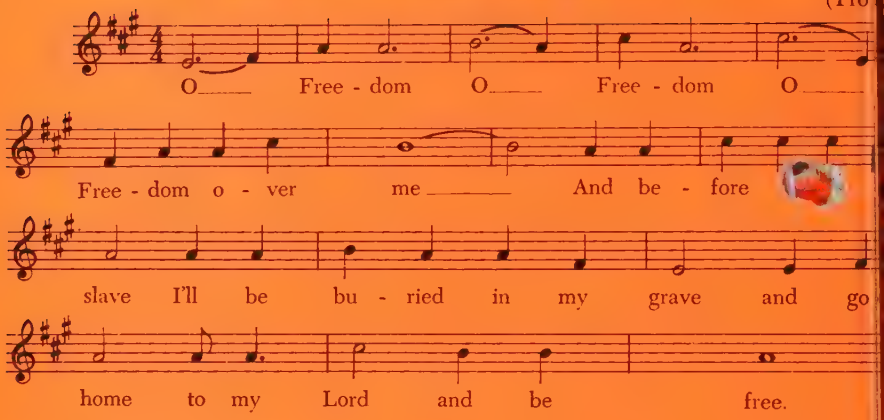
The Lord will see us through,
The Lord will see us through,
The Lord will see us through some day.
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
The Lord will see us through some day.

We'll walk hand in hand,
We'll walk hand in hand,
We'll walk hand in hand some day.
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
We'll walk hand in hand some day.

Black and white together,
Black and white together,
Black and white together some day.
Oh, deep in my heart I do believe
Black and white together some day.

REFRAIN/ We shall overcome, We shall—

Oh, Freedom!



VERSES/ No more Jim Crow, No more Jim Crow,
No more Jim Crow over me.
And before I'll be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord and be free.

No more lynchings, no more lynchings.
No more lynchings over me.
And before I'll be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord and be free.

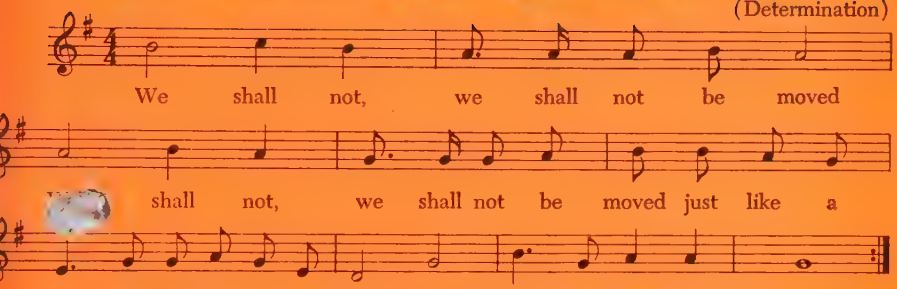
No segregation, no segregation,
No segregation over me.
And before I'll be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord and be free.

No more mourning, no more mourning,
No more mourning over me.
And before I'll be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord and be free.

REFRAIN/O Freedom, O Freedom—

WE SHALL NOT BE MOVED

(Determination)

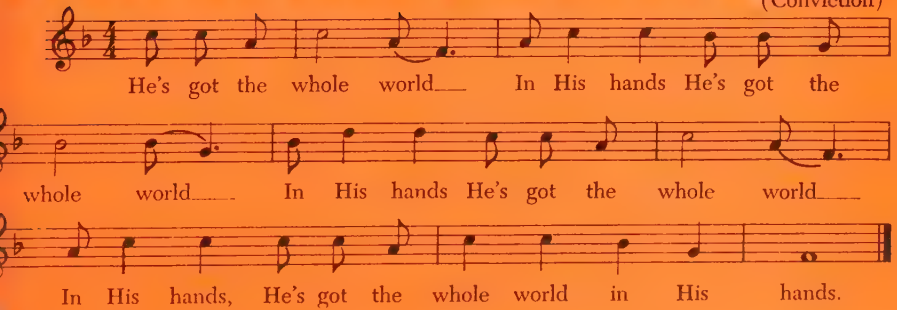


VERSES/ Jesus is my savior,
We shall not be moved,
Jesus is my savior,
We shall not be moved,
Just like a tree that's planted by the water,
We shall not be moved.

We're fighting for our Freedom, etc.
We'll fill up all the jails, etc.
We're fighting segregation, etc.
Black and white together, etc.
We shall all be brothers, etc.

HE'S GOT THE WHOLE WORLD IN HIS HANDS

(Conviction)



VERSES/ He's got you and me, brother . . .
He's got the gamblin' man . . .
He's got the little bitsy baby . . .

LITANY FOR RACIAL JUSTICE

LEADER: O Lord, Father and Protector of us all,
Thou who made us brothers and joined all hands with the common link of love:

YOUTH: *Search us, O God, and know our hearts; try us and know our thoughts.*

LEADER: Father, we have strayed from thy precepts;
We have sinned against our brothers:
By withdrawal from their presence,
By ignorance and neglect of their human needs,
By absence of warmth and friendship,
By silence in the midst of wrong,
By empty promises too long postponed.

YOUTH: *If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves.*

LEADER: We are not guiltless of the insult of separation and the crime of injustice.
Upon our Pilate-hands are the tears and the blood of our brother's desperation.
On our consciences is the despair of the deprived:
The thirsty who cannot drink,
The hungry who cannot eat,
The weary who cannot rest,
The disfranchised confined outside the gates of opportunity,
The shackled, the crippled, the disenchanted, the slain.

YOUTH: *Wilt thou not revive us again? Show us thy mercy, O Lord, and grant us thy salvation.*

LEADER: Help us to tear down the barriers that divide us from our neighbors:
Clear our cluttered gardens with the sunlight of thy love.
Uproot the stubborn weeds of intolerance and bigotry from the sandy clay of indifference.
Cover the ground with the fertile soil of good will,
And plant the seeds of unity and justice there.
Fortify us, commit us to thy righteousness.

YOUTH: *Show us thy ways, O Lord; teach us thy paths; lead us in thy truth, and restore us to thy joy forever. Amen.*

—NICHOLAS HOOD

HE TRUGGLE OF THE EGRO N AMERICA

year before the ar-
al of the Mayflower,
Dutch man-of-war
opped anchor at
mestown and landed
Africans in exchange
food for the ship's
ngry crew. Thus be-
n the stream of
ents in our nation's
tory which have
ought us to the cur-
t demand for free-
m and equality. The
egro says: "We've
ited long enough."

. . . THE SLAVE AS TRADE . . . AS PRO

TO BE SOLD,

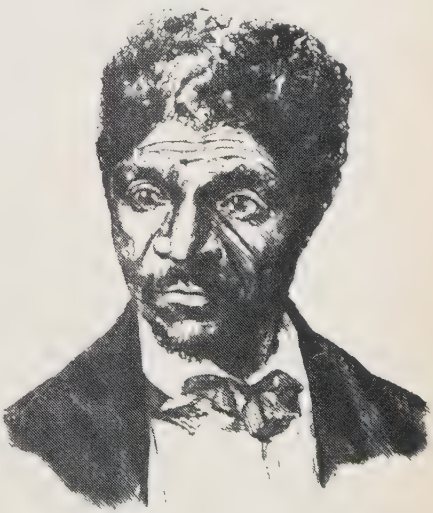
A Likely negro Man, his Wife and Child; the negro Man capable of doing all sorts of Plantation Work, and a good Miller: The Woman exceeding fit for a Farmer, being capable of doing any Work, belonging to a Houſe in the Country, at reaſonable Rates, inquire of the Printer hereof.

The cotton gin and cheap Negro labor revolutionized the economy of the early South.

A detail from the loading plan of a slave ship.

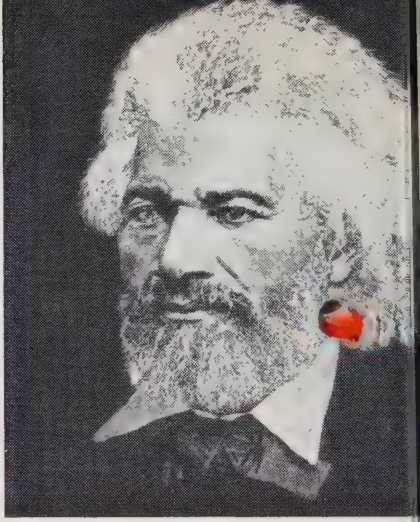
. . AS NON-HUMAN PROPERTY

n the fight of the American colonies for reedom from the British oppressors, "the rst to defy and the first to die" was Crispus Attucks, ex-slave and sailor, who as killed at the Boston Massacre in 770. But when our founding fathers rafted the Declaration of Indepen- ence, they omitted Thomas Jefferson's aragraph condemning human bondage, or the slave trade was too profitable to he colonies. In the early 1800's, the uestion of whether or not the Negro hould be free became a crucial issue in merican life. When one slave, Dred cott, sought freedom as he moved to e "free soil" of the North, the Su- reme Court ruled in 1846 that the nferior" Negro did not have the same ghts as a white man, that he could not ecome a citizen, and that slave-holders ould not be deprived of their right to ke human "articles of merchandise" to any part of the Union. The North- n anti-slavery or abolitionist movement oused the country to fever pitch over e slavery issue.



Dred Scott sued for liberty and lost.

The fight to free the slaves was not solely waged by white men. A key leader in the Northern abolitionist and anti-slavery movement, both before and after the war between the states, was Frederick Douglass, an ex-slave, an eloquent speaker and writer, and a brilliant statesman. He was the first of the "freedom riders" and "sit-inners." Temporary success came on January 1, 1863, when President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation freeing all slaves in those states in rebellion. But post-war reconstruction and resulting dissension brought slavery-like Black Codes and white mastery through intimidation.



Frederick Douglass, father of the protest movem

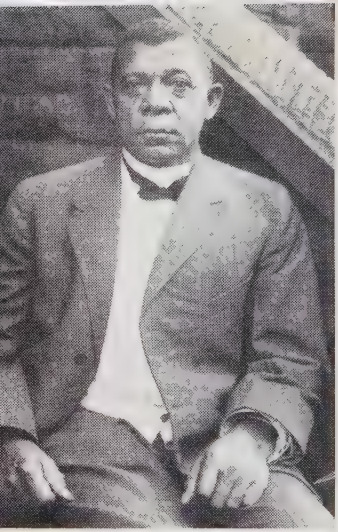
. . . A NATION TORN BY STR

Some 180,000 Negroes fought in the Union Army, including the famous 54th Massachusetts Volunteers.

After the war these Southern Negroes were elected to Congress.

. AND NEGROES HALF FREE

The post-war invasion of carpetbaggers and the Negro's new freedom and voting power aroused white resentment and revenge.

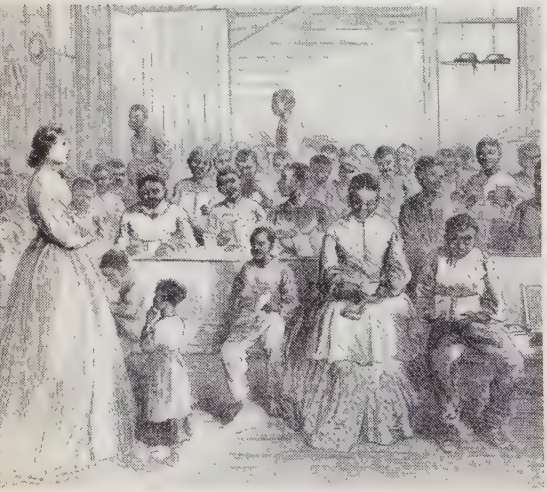


Booker T. Washington

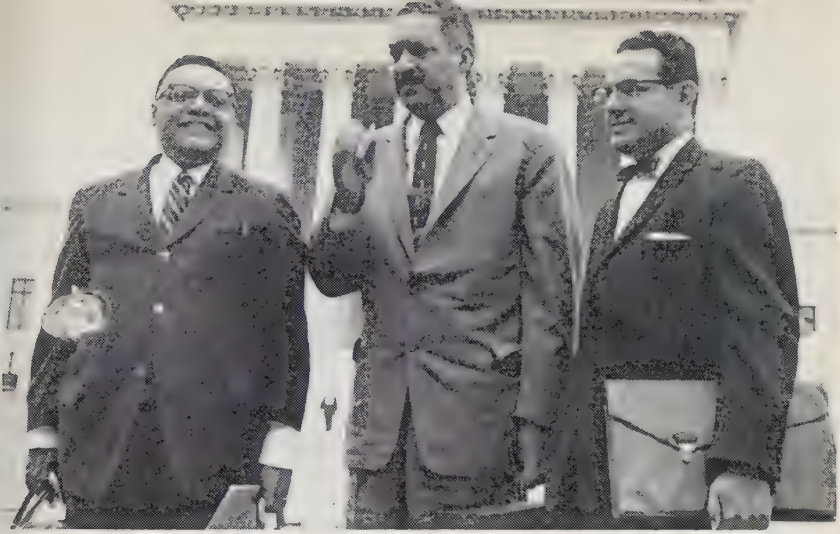
At the turn of the century, Booker T. Washingt sought education for the Negro masses. In a speec "the Atlanta compromise," in 1895, he said, "In things purely social we can be as separate as t fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential mutual progress." Within a year, the Supreme Cou in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson endorsed the prin ple of "separate but equal." But militant Negro opposed Washington's softness toward segregatio W. E. Burghardt Du Bois and other Negro intellectua formed the protesting Niagara Movement, whi came the foundations for the NAACP, thus mergi forces of white liberalism and Negro militancy. As result of years of NAACP legal action, the Supre Court on May 17, 1954, declared segregation in t public schools unconstitutional. The Negroes were d clared citizens with rights which the government mu protect. A year later, Negroes in Montgomery, Ala sparked by Rosa Parks, started a bus boycott whi grew into a protest movement that swept the natio

. . . COMPROMISES LEADING TO . . . A DECISI

Supported by such groups as the American Missionary Association, thousands of Northerners went South to set up schools and teach the Negroes.

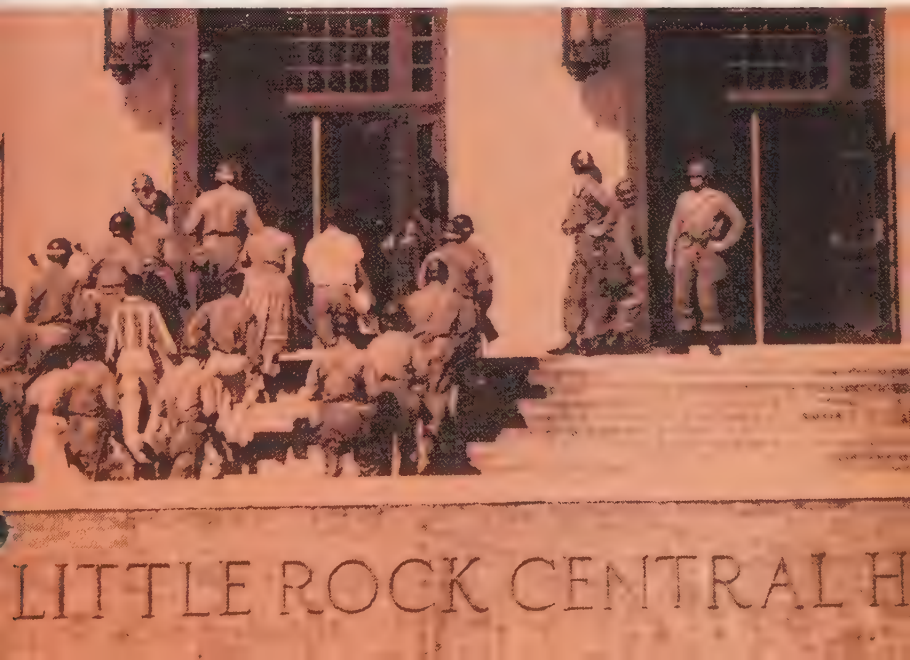


On September 25, 1957, for the first time since the Reconstruction era, President Eisenhower used federal troops to support and protect the rights of Negroes.



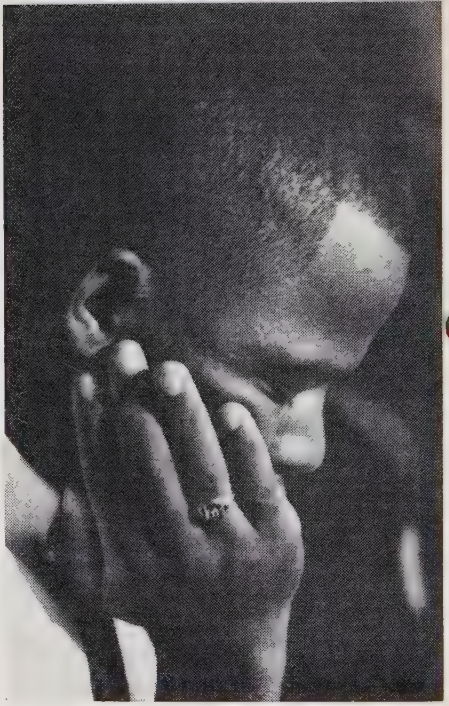
Handling the historic cases of 1954 were Thurgood Marshall, chief counselor of the NAACP, and attorneys George E. C. Hayes and James M. Nabrit.

FULL CITIZENSHIP



THE NEGRO OF TODAY SPEAKS

No white man can fully know what it means to be black in America. And the non - black American can only begin to understand the intensity and motivation of the Negro's current fight for equal rights and opportunities when he has begun to feel and to think something of the deep pain and humiliation which the Negro suffers everyday. As he listens, the non-black American suddenly discovers that he learns more about himself than about his Negro brother. And others are learning, too. As never before, the entire world is listening to the mind and heart of the U. S. Negro.



JOHN LEWIS / CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER

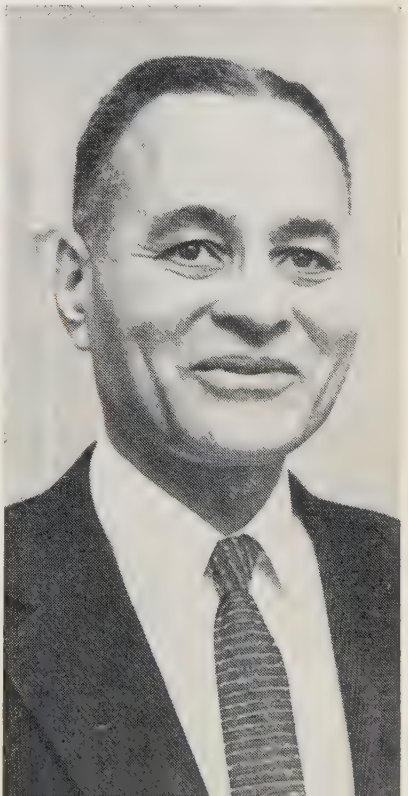
People have been forced to leave their home because they dared to exercise their right to regis ter and vote. . . . We are now involved in a ser ious revolution. In some parts of the South w work in the fields from sun-up to sundown fo $12 a week. . . . The revolution is at hand an we must free ourselves of the chains of politica and economic slavery. . . . To those who hav said, "Be patient and wait" we must say tha patience is a dirty word. We cannot be patient we do not want to be free gradually, we want ou freedom and we want it now. In the struggle w must seek more than more civil rights; we mus work for the community of love, peace, and tru brotherhood. Our minds, souls, and hearts ca not rest until freedom and justice exist for all th people.

MARTIN LUTHER KING / MINISTER

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character. This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with—with this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope.

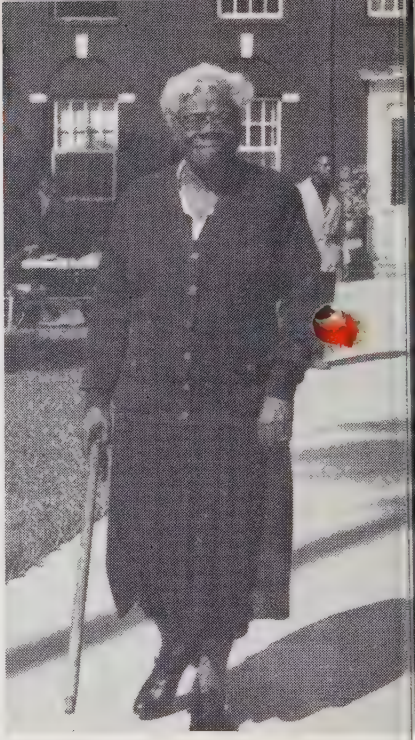
RALPH BUNCHE / U. N. PEACEMAKER

Interracial groups often enjoy playing with the question of "how it feels to be a Negro." White sympathizers with the Negro often assert that if more white people could only know how it "feels" to be a "Negro," there would be a great deal less prejudice against the black man. Such attitudes, while undoubtedly often sincere, are silly. No one can describe how it feels to be a "Negro" in this country because what the Negro is here defies description—the sum total of the social, political and economic forces have created a purely sociological being called the Negro. A new born babe, black as midnight, has no "Negro" feelings.



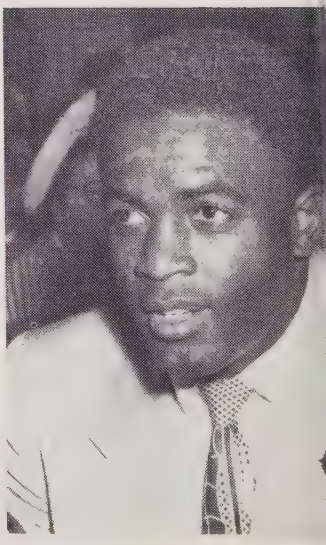
MARY M. BETHUNE / EDUCATOR

I leave you racial dignity. I want Negroes to maintain their human dignity at all costs. We, as Negroes, must recognize that we are the custodians as well as the heirs of a great civilization. We have given something to the world as a race and for this we are proud and fully conscious of our place in the total picture of mankind's development. We must learn also to share and mix with all men. We must make an effort to be less race conscious and more conscious of individual and human values. I pray that we will learn to live harmoniously with the white race. So often, our difficulties have made us hyper-sensitive and truculent. I want to see my people conduct themselves naturally in all relationships — fully conscious of their manly responsibilities and deeply aware of their heritage.



JACK E. ROBINSON / ATHLETE

I think you are aware that the Negro is more interested in being recognized as the white man's brother than as his brother-in-law. Yet, for years the racists have been waving the red flag of emotionalism, claiming falsely that the fight for integration is actually a fight for intermarriage and interracial love. By exposing the hypocrisy, by endorsing the *individual* right of people to be free in their personal quest for happiness, you demonstrate that you are not offering the crust of tolerance but the full loaf of love, respect, understanding and justice.

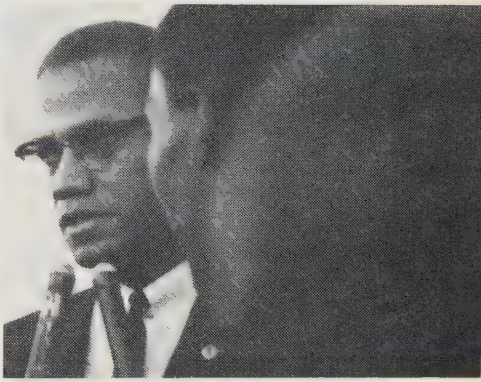


MARIAN ANDERSON / SINGER

All too often there is a shying away, almost a fear of getting to know one another. I do not mean that we can all be expected to become friends overnight, or that it is even desirable. I do mean that in some cases that there is an aloofness [illegible]partness, even a mutual suspicion based on nothing but unstated fears and misunderstanding.

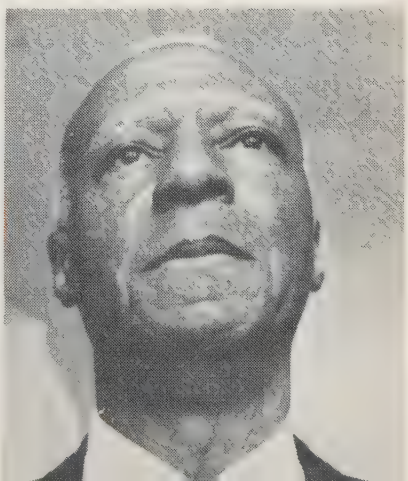
MALCOLM X / RELIGIOUS LEADER

'Love thy neighbor'; I have yet to meet one white man that loved his neighbor . . . 'Thou shalt not kill'; I have yet to meet such a Christian. . . . Where is a good Christian among this race? You have made yourselves the most foolish people on earth by loving and following after the ways of Slavemasters, whom Allah has revealed to me to be none other than real devils, and that their so-called Christianity is not His religion, nor the religion of Jesus or any other prophet of Allah.



PHILIP RANDOLPH / LABOR LEADER

All who deplore our militants, who exhort patience in the name of a false peace, are in fact supporting segregation and exploitation. They would have social peace at the expense of social and racial justice. They are more concerned with easing racial tensions than enforcing racial democracy.



The Status of Civ

"What Do You Mean, Not So Fast?"

Rights in 1963 . . .

How often have you made plans based on promises which are later broken? Or how often have you been blamed for a situation over which you have no control? We all find it hard to avoid feelings of deep resentment against those who made the promises upon which we depended and against those who leveled unjust blame upon us.

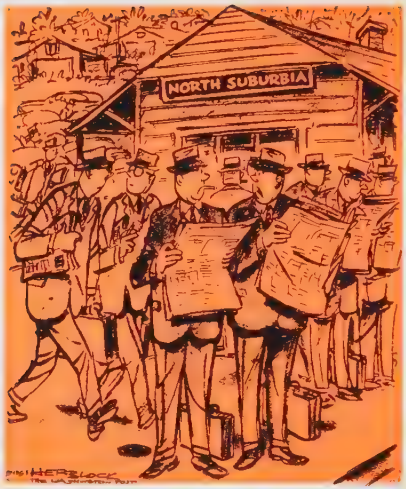
Yet, despite the unpleasantness resulting from these frustrations, most of us must admit that we suffer such only occasionally. To the Negro in America, however, these two frustrations lie at the very foundations of the civil rights movement today. They constitute a considerable part of the basis for the very legitimate demands being made by the Negro today for the rights promised in a democracy to all its citizens. In fact, it is only natural for the Negro to resent more deeply promises which have been broken than promises which were never made at all.

In addition to being denied the American promises of freedom and equality, the Negro also resents the fact that this denial is based upon something over which he has no control—the color of his skin. One Negro student describes racial discrimination as "being blamed for something you didn't do."

*If you find the current civil rights movement difficult to accept or feel that it is moving too rapidly, then ask yourself: What would I do if the situation were reversed and I were the victim of these frustrations? To understand what is happening, we must realize that these resentments have always been present but have now come to the surface as a result of the real power which the Negro has come to realize he possesses—*economic *power which can affect the white man's pocketbook when the Negro decides to boycott public accommodations which discriminate;* political *power which can affect the white man's choice of candidates where the Negro vote is decisive, as in many urban areas; and* moral *power which can affect the white man's conscience when the Negro challenges him to be consistent with the religious faith he professes.*

The Negro is fighting for his rights and he is no longer depending on the promises of the "moderate" white man. Nor is the Negro going to continue to accept the white racists' imposition of second-class citizenship because of the way God created him and therefore because of a situation over which the Negro has no control.

Let us then consider those areas of American life where the Negro has not only suffered real injustice but where he has concentrated his efforts toward bringing about a change.



"Those Alabama Stories Are Sickening. Why Can't They Be Like Us and Find Some Nice, Refined Way to Keep the Negroes Out?"

Housing

Housing is "the one commodity in the American market . . . not free available on equal terms to everyone who can afford to pay," reports th U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. That this is a fact should surprise n one, but we don't seem to realize or care that it is inconsistent with every thing we as a people profess—the religious principles in our Judeo-Christia background, the economic foundations of our system of free enterprise, th equality of opportunity and our political heritage of freedom and democracy Probably no area of racial discrimination is as widespread throughout th nation as is housing. Even the white Northerner often says that the Negr should have the right to vote, to equality of opportunity in education an employment and the right to decent housing—"but not next door." Wha this means is that the Negro is usually relegated to a ghetto where th conditions are those of a slum or he is permitted, if wealthy, to live in a exclusive neighborhood—exclusively Negro.

Opposition to having Negroes live next door is based on a series of fals assumptions and false values. George and Eunice Grier in an excellen pamphlet, "Discrimination in Housing" point out that there are five reason for this opposition: fear of decline in property values, fear of inundation fear of conflict, fear of loss of status, and considerations of politics and profit which encourage the spreading of these fears. The authors make clear, a many studies have confirmed, that property values decline because of pani selling which in turn is caused by the fear of such decline. There is a per sisting of the "self-fulfilling prophecy" which means that, when peopl believe certain action will have a particular result, they act in a way whic brings about that result, whereas if they had not acted the way they did the expected result would not have occurred. For example, because peopl believe that Negro movement into a neighborhood results in decline of prop erty values, they move out quickly, sell their house for whatever they ca

get immediately, and thus get less than they think the house is worth. The fallacy is that they think the Negro's moving in caused the decline in property values when actually it was the panic selling that did it. What happens depends less on what the Negro does than on what the white neighbors do.

Fears of conflict and loss of status are real fears but ones that should be dispelled by a combination of neighborly acceptance and police protection. Certainly conflict is not inevitable. And when it does occur, it does so not because of what the Negro does but because of the failure of the whites to accept him into the neighborhood. If all neighborhoods were open to all persons regardless of race, the white who wishes to prove his "status" would find that, because no neighborhood is racially exclusive, the basis of status would have to be economic rather than racial. After all a Negro has as much right to be a snob as does a white, therefore, let both Negro and white live on "society hill" by eliminating all "lily-white lanes."

Segregated housing is also encouraged by many politicians who fear that change in the racial patterns of their constituencies may jeopardize their political future. Among the most vicious practices indulged in by some real estate dealers is that of "blockbusting" in which these dealers will spread the aforementioned fears among the white property owners in a neighborhood where a Negro family has moved in in order to get them to sell their houses at a loss which the dealer can sell to a Negro at a substantial profit. Such practices create Negro ghettos overnight with everyone losing except the real estate dealers.

"Picketing! Demonstrations! Government Meddling! I Don't Know What This Country Is Coming To"

Employment

All aspects of racial discrimination are inter-related. To open up housing in middle and upper class neighborhoods to persons of all races cannot be effective if members of minority groups are denied equality of opportunity

in employment which will furnish them with the financial means to ta advantage of such housing. This is more than merely finding a job. D crimination against the Negro exists in vocational as well as in acaden training, in apprenticeship training programs, in membership in labor unio in referral services rendered by employment agencies, as well as discrimi tion by employers both public and private.

That the Negro is the "last hired and the first fired" has been a fact life for much too long. With the increasing automation of industry, t Negro is particularly disadvantaged because this development elimina the unskilled jobs to which the Negro has been traditionally ate Equality of opportunity in promotion must be extended to the Negro if is to receive fair treatment in today's society.

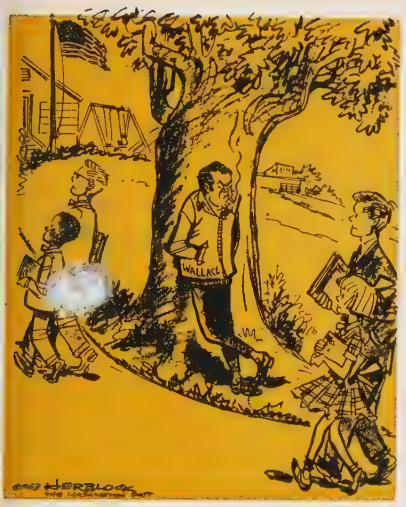
The problem of discrimination in employment, like that in housing, is t result of false assumptions on the part of those responsible for hiring policie The employer assumes that employment of Negroes will result in loss customers or refusal of white employees to remain on the job. The resu of Fair Employment Practices legislation in several states have proven the fears to be unfounded. Customers are more interested in the price a quality of products than they are in the color of the clerk that sells ther Employees are more interested in wages and working conditions than in t color of the fellow workers' skin.

A more likely reason for discrimination is the fact that an increase in t labor supply for all jobs threatens the security of every employee who wou rather not be compelled to compete. The Negro is identifiable where white Presbyterians and Methodists are not. Therefore, it is easier to e clude Negroes from competition for jobs and promotions.

When decent job opportunities are not available to the young Negro gra uate, motivation to get a good education is undermined. Why aspire to be research chemist, says the Negro student, if you can't even get a job as soda jerk in the local drug store because of the color of your skin?

In addition to the obvious injustice to the Negro from discrimination i employment are the tremendous related problems which result from suc practices. In many of our large cities the rate of unemployment amon Negroes is as high as 20 per cent. As the President pointed out in his civ rights message last June, this situation "creates an atmosphere of frustratio resentment, and unrest which does not bode well for the future. Deli quency, vandalism, gang warfare, disease, slums, and the high cost of publ welfare and crime are all directly related to unemployment among whit and Negroes alike. . . ." When one realizes that the unemployment ra of Negro workers is more than double that of the working force as a whol it is not difficult to appreciate the seriousness of this problem as it affec the nation as a whole and the Negro people in particular.

The Negro neither wants to lose nor get a job simply because of the col of his skin, but he does want to have equal opportunity for training, for com peting, and for getting hired for jobs available to whomever is best equipp for that job. With that assurance, new ambition is his.



"The Drop-out!"

Education

The inter-relatedness of all civil rights is also apparent as we move from employment to education. Obviously, the degree to which opportunities exist in employment is largely dependent upon the degree to which opportunities exist in education. To most of the readers of this article the practice of forbidding Negroes to obtain education in institutions with whites must seem weird. Nevertheless, seven years after the Supreme Court decision in the School Segregation Cases, 2062 school districts in the South that enroll both white and Negro pupils had not even started to comply with the requirements of the Constitution. In the North there is much de facto segregation resulting from segregation in housing (further evidence of the inter-relatedness of civil rights). As President Kennedy pointed out, "The lack of equal educational opportunity deprives the individual of equal economic opportunity, restricts his contributions as a citizen and community leader, encourages him to drop out of school and imposes a heavy burden on the effort to eliminate discriminatory practices and prejudices from our national life."

There is more to this than providing the necessary physical facilities and good teachers. If this were all that was needed, there would have been no need to have abandoned the "separate but equal" doctrine which permitted segregation as long as the facilities provided Negroes were equal to those of the whites. The point is that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Justice Warren, in the School Segregation Cases, quoted with approval the statement of the Kansas Court: *Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon colored children. . . . A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard) the educational and mental development of Negro children and to*

deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially tegrated school system.

That this is so when the segregation is by custom as well as by law when it is the result of segregated neighborhoods, the effect is the sa This is especially so when the segregation is the result of patterns of seg gation throughout the society—in housing, employment, and elsewhe

"You Mean, Suh, Let 'Em Mingle Ballots in the Same Box with Ours?"

Voting

The right to vote is, of course, the most fundamental element of demo racy. Although other elements must also be present, the right to determi who shall rule is essential; otherwise, government by consent of the go erned is a myth. As in the case of education, most readers will find th denial of the right to vote indefensible and inexplicable—nevertheless, suc is the situation in approximately 100 counties in Alabama, Florida, Georgi Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennesse Such denial takes many forms, such as economic reprisals, discriminato purges of Negroes from the registration rolls, and restrictive voter qualif cations laws. The most prevalent form of discrimination was found by th U. S. Commission on Civil Rights to occur in arbitrary registration proce dures. The very commendable but difficult task being carried out by And Young and others in voter registration drives has made it apparent that a atmosphere of fear pervades the entire Black Belt counties of the Sout The numerous occasions wherein those who have attempted to register hav been the victims of physical attacks make this fear real and understandabl How ironic that in most parts of the Nation qualified voters have to b

appealed to to register and vote, while such action in many parts of the South is an act of tremendous courage when performed by a Negro!

Although such discrimination is indefensible, it is not difficult to understand. The right to vote is the essence of political power which the whites believe the Negro is too immature and emotional to exercise responsibly. This, of course, means that the white Southerner is afraid that the Negro would take from the whites the power to maintain the system of accommodation under which the Negro's place in the social structure is established. The [illegible]ntation of the "Southern way of life" is the maintenance of the class [illegible]-caste system in which the Negro remains relegated to "hewing of wood and drawing of water" and forever kept separate from and beneath the white man. To put it most simply—the white man has had a "good thing going" for him and doesn't want to see it upset. The Southerner who says that the Negro is too backward to deserve the right to vote has been likened to the boy who murdered his mother and father and then pleaded for mercy on the ground that he is an orphan.

"And Remember, Nothing Can Be Accomplished by Taking to the Streets"

Public Accomodations

Probably no area of racial discrimination is a greater affront to human dignity than that in public accommodations. This is discrimination which the Negro faces every day in one form or another. It is not surprising that the greatest thrust in the civil rights movement has been in this area. The Montgomery bus boycott, the sit-in demonstrations and the Freedom Rides have all dramatized the fact that a Negro is constantly the victim of humiliation in situations in which the white man would be dumbfounded if similar discrimination were levelled against him. As President Kennedy said last

February, ". . . no action is more contrary to the spirit of our democra and Constitution—or more rightfully resented by a Negro citizen who see only equal treatment—than the barring of that citizen from restauran hotels, theaters, recreational areas, and other public accommodations a facilities." In his message last June, President Kennedy emphasized t seriousness of this problem by pointing out the power and obligation of t Federal government to do something about these discriminatory practic "because they adversely affect the national economy and the flow of int state commerce and because Congress has been specifically e[illegible]ver under the 14th Amendment to enact legislation making certain that [illegible] sta law permits or sanctions the unequal protection or treatment of any of citizens."

Discrimination against the personnel of African embassies and U.N. del gations in restaurants along Route 40 in Maryland constitute a very serio threat to the prestige of the United States abroad. Such practices caus Secretary of State Dean Rusk to say, "The greatest single burden we be on our backs in our foreign policies in the 1960's is race discriminatio at home."

"The Prisoners."

Administration of Justice

One of the great principles of the American system of government engraved on the entrance to the U. S. Supreme Court: "Equal Justice und Law." That this is an ideal often unfulfilled must be acknowledged b that it is hardly more than an idle dream to many Negroes is not alwa sufficiently realized. It has been known for some time that a poor ma very often receives less justice when he is accused of crime than a wealth

nan. This problem becomes particularly acute when the accused is both Negro and poor. Anyone who has read the reports of investigations of olice brutality compiled by the Inter-Citizens Committee of Birmingham, la., should not have been surprised by the climate of fear and terror vhich characterizes that tragic city today.

This is not a problem that is peculiar to Birmingham in particular or the outh generally but is one to be found in most of the major cities of the Nation. The white man must understand that whereas he sees the police s a symbol of protection of life and property, the Negro often sees him s a symbol of hostility and brutality. Someone has said that a white man efines a policeman as one who protects you, whereas a Negro often defines im as one who arrests you.

The fact that the large majority of policemen in the U. S. respect the ghts of all citizens, Negro and white, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights as confirmed from its investigations what has been long suspected, namely, nat "Negroes feel the brunt of official brutality, proportionately, more than ny other group in American society."

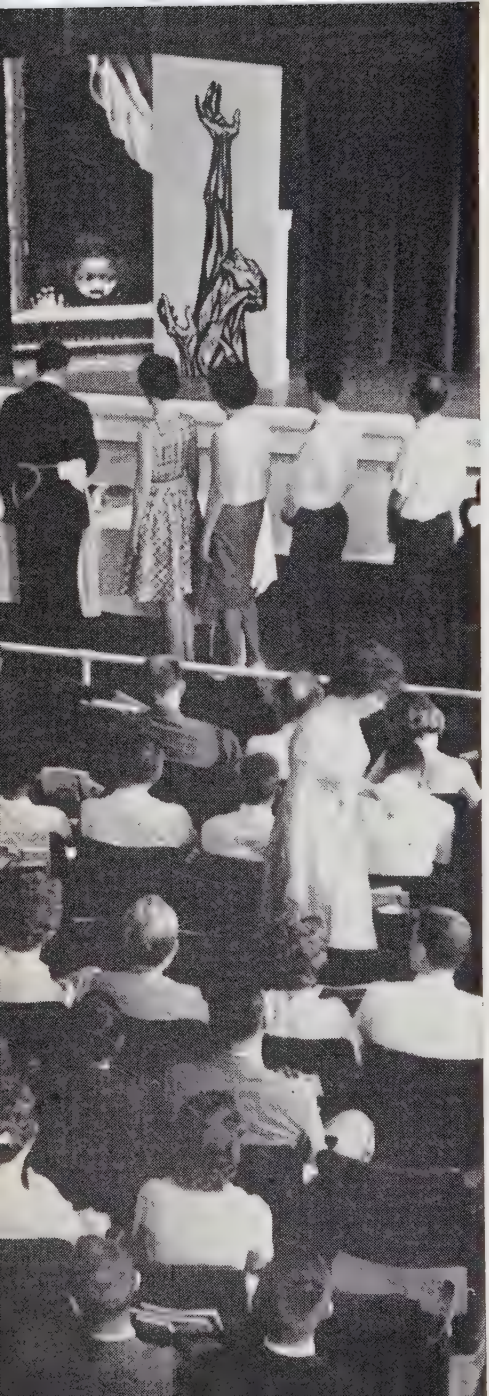
* * * * *

What can anyone do to bring about a change in all these practices of iscrimination? Obviously, a long list could be made, but let's look at just few. *First,* find out what the situation is in your community in all these reas. If there are no Negroes where you live, don't confuse this as a lack f a problem. Find out why this is so. *Second,* try to encourage discussion f these problems in your family, neighborhod, church, and school by finding ut what individuals and groups in your community are concerned about ie status of race relations and what they are doing about it. *Third,* find ut what laws or ordinances exist in your state or city which deal with the arious forms of discrimination. Once you know what the facts are chal-nge the adults around you—parents, teachers, clergymen, and business aders—to do something about whatever discriminatory practices exist. *ourth,* challenge your church to face these problems and help find solu-ons for them. Do what you can to make certain that the church to which ou belong is not included among those condemned by Dr. Martin Luther ing when he said, "In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the egro, I have watched white churches stand on the sideline and merely outh pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities."

Every community is to a degree like the one described by the white rmingham lawyer who said after the bombing of the 16th St. Baptist nurch: "Every person in this community who has in any way contributed the popularity of hatred is at least as guilty, or more so, as the demented ol who threw that bomb."

If you do nothing more than the few things suggested above, you can art a revolution in your church and community. Don't miss this opportu-ty to change the world around you. If you fail, the world may change you.

—LEWIS I. MADDOCKS



The Rights of Man

YOUTH FORUM IN ATLAN

To get a first-hand look at the current struggle for equal human rights, 100 teens and 40 adults from most of the states spent a week together on the campus of Clark College in Atlanta, Ga., in June. This national Youth Forum, sponsored by the Youth Minist of the United Church of Christ, provided an opportunity for delegates to hear and meet both Negro and white leaders in the civil rights movements. Other exposures to the current situation included Bible study, small discussion groups, work projects in the Negro sections of Atlanta, a movie of "A Raisin in the Sun," a folk singer, a jazz combo, and the normal excitement of getting to know young people from other sections of the country. For many delegates, it was the first time that they got to know someone of another race. There were moments of despair and confusion, tension and bitterness, fear and encounter, and moments of truth and revelation, hope and compassion. Wh did the speakers say? How did teens respond?

Concerns expressed by the speakers . . .

Rev. Andrew Young, a U.C.C. minister and a leader in the voter registration campaign in the South /

The real problem in America is not race but learning to love.

Prejudice is based on insecurity. People hate Negroes because they're incapable of love. Too many of us are so egotistical that we can love only those similar to us. Being able to love and understand anybody who's different from you is evidence of maturity and security and brotherhood.

The white man says we accept you Negroes as equals if you can lift yourself up to our level even though we deprive you of your human dignity, your education, your job opportunities, and your right to vote.

You shall know the truth and the truth shall make you mad.

When people begin to accept God, crucifixion begins. When you do something worthwhile or when you do right or speak truth, you'll have troubles. With the crucifixion and way of the cross, come resurrection, rebirth, etc. When you suffer, something new is born in you. With suffering and sacrifice comes redemption. God can call you in death as well as in life. For the Christian, death is not the end.

Rev. Archie Hargraves, an executive of the United Church of Christ /

The law will not help you love a Negro but the law will help stop you from denying the basic rights of a Negro.

Dr. Homer McEwen, pastor of an Atlanta Church /

We follow a crucified Christ but we don't want to be scratched. The church is not the church unless it is expendable to do God's will. Man must divest himself of the idea that he can save himself. Man needs assistance. Traditionally man has found this aid in Jesus Christ as example and savior.

Some people use the Bible to justify injustice. We are New Testament Christians and we believe in the centrality of Jesus Christ. And so we must test all questions of injustice and justice against the example of Christ.

Rev. Philip Williams, missionary in Japan /

I'm not sure we have yet faced the serious significance of the simple fact that America's oppressed groups are still among the "privileged people" of the world in an international perspective. Without easing a single effort for justice at home, can we not somehow really *feel* the meaning of the fact that most of the world family are really *enslaved* yet?

Reactions of some of the teen delegates . . .

Joyce Bednarski, Reading, Pa. /

I cannot help but remember the determination and anguish on the fac of Andy Young, Archie Hargraves, and some of the other speakers. I never seen a group so set in their cause. This decisiveness is what convinc me that these people were not fanatics, not extremists, but honest men w saw their destiny in the struggle for equality. This sincerity did more kindle my interest and active support than anything I've read.

Nancy Chase, Portland, Oregon /

I learned that (1) the Bible is not against any race of people; (2) th the science of anthropology has shown that there is no inferior race; (3 that an oppressed people who are hungry for dignity, equality, and liber rise up with courage, willing to lay down their lives; (4) that the Christia church must face the issue and answer God's call with our own dedicati and body, even to death.

Bill Johnson, Houston, Texas /

To me, the forum was a step into a world I have never seen before—t world of reality. I saw what man has done to God's creation by pushi God aside and following the desires of his own heart. The white man esta lished himself as the divine creation and pushed his brothers of minori groups into the gutter. The church had been around for years preachi brotherly love and the kinship of all men under one Father but very seldo practicing what it preached. The church, as an institution, had become grandstand spectator of the horror of racial discrimination. All this I sa for the first time. It was all real. No longer could I close my eyes to I hated it. I hated myself for letting it happen because, indeed, I was part of the church. I hated God, too. I really did. I hated God for maki me see it. The shame was heavy but still there was joy because I now ha something to live for—something precious . . . I shall never forget the fi time I sang the greatest of the freedom songs, "We Shall Overcome." As stood there holding a black hand in friendship and singing the words whic for the first time, my heart felt, I felt the presence of the Living God.

Mary Shea, Alpena, Mich. /

I'll remember most our work project. My group went to a day nurse to paint and repair toys. We finished before our bus returned so we talke with the children and one asked me to read a story. There was somethi about the look in their eyes and the true interest in their voices that mov me. As we rode back to campus I thought of the world those children wou face in a few years—I felt deeply ashamed. I think it was here that t deep meaning of this forum really struck me and made me open my ey to look at what I could do to help me and them "overcome."

inda Griffin, Lyndhurst, Ohio /

My roommate was from one of the Southern states and she was white. Being with her helped heal my harsh feelings toward the Southern white nd made me more eager to help them. I learned that the barriers of such person as my roommate against Negroes are real and sincere and not just front as I once believed. My roommate's problems have in part become ny own and are teaching me more of the civil rights problem everyday.

A teen age girl from the Rocky Mountains /

It [illegible]tty hard at times to do anything about this problem when my arents won't allow me to speak anywhere. It has presented a new feeling r situation for me—what do you do when those whom you love most and espect are against what you believe gives purpose to your life? I have yet o find the answer.

aul Nelson, Newton, Conn. /

Human rights are defeated by human wrongs.

uzanne Harris, St. Petersburg, Florida /

My biggest problem has been realizing that I cannot convert St. Petersurg by myself. This community has been carrying out desegregation proams I had been unaware of. It is easier to march in a demonstration and ng freedom songs than it is to work calmly and patiently in bringing about etter relations, through logical, friendly conversation, arranging church rojects and programs, and supporting rights movements.

leanor Steele, Winston-Salem, N. C. /

As a Negro in the South, I have always felt extremely alone in my fight or freedom. The forum delegates have shown me that I am not alone, that have white brothers who do care. On returning home, my biggest problem as been convincing our "well-situated" Negroes to risk their social status, heir good relations with the "well-situated" whites, and their special social rivileges to engage in a fight that is not the poor Negroes' fight, but all egroes' fight and all people's fight.

rom a letter of a Negro mother to her teenager attending the forum /

. . . Please remember what I said about the bus home. If you have to et off the bus for anything, look for the colored section, as they are very uch segregated, even though not marked. Sit as near the back of the bus possible. I know what I'm saying makes you sick to even listen but it's l true. I don't want your life taken for something as trivial as a sandwich a white waiting room or a seat on the front of the bus. Some drivers are nown to turn Negro patrons over to the police in some small hostile town r such reasons, so please be careful. I guess I will always worry about ou as long as you remain in the deep South, but come to think of it, as a egro we are not wanted anywhere in the United States.

I COMMIT MYSELF AS A CHRISTIAN I

- To work now for inclusive membership in my church;
- To seek now the enactment of appropriate civil rights legislation in the areas of education, employment, housing, public accommodations, and voting; at every level of government, and to protest the evasion of such laws;
- To engage now in persuasion, in negotiation, in reconciliation and in non-violent responsible demonstrations when such actions are necessary for racial justice;
- To establish now at least one friendship across racial and cultural lines;
- To fortify myself and deepen my commitment to racial unity and justice now by daily prayer, by study, and by sharing my experiences with others.

This pledge is made by all who join The Fellowship of the Committed, a group of members of the United Church of Christ who have committed themselves "before God and the nation to racial justice now."

what can we do?

Prejudice is deeply rooted. What a person fears, he often hates. When a person is unsure of himself, he often blames someone else—a scapegoat! And when the society around that person encourages him in his prejudice by its prevailing customs and laws, his prejudice becomes even deeper imbedded with the passage of time. Faced by such a dilemma, what can youth do? How do we help another person feel more secure, feel less fear, and overcome a prejudice that is supported by the community around us? And what about our own deeply-rooted prejudices? How do we help others and ourselves discover who we really are and how this "real me" finds expression in right relationships with others?

Race is only one way in which we show our prejudice. We also find scapegoats in people who differ from us in religion, economic or social status, physical appearance, intelligence, artistic or athletic skills, etc. But as we understand what makes us nurture prejudice in one area of life, we come to find it easier to cope with prejudice in other areas of life. And thus each of us grows.

We must recognize that our warfare on prejudice demands a simultaneous attack on all fronts—lack of truth, lack of genuine acceptance of people as human beings, and lack of community support. Each of these areas of concern works hand in hand with the other, and is ineffective alone. And so, in all that we try to do, we need to:

1. Seek the honest facts from the best sources possible.
2. Get involved in the real needs of our community and get to know personally people of other groups.
3. Act with the hope of changing the social pressures of prejudice and injustice within our community by the enforcing and enabling of just laws, and by doing right, and not endorsing wrong, by our everyday deeds.

Start where you are loved the most—in your family and among friends. Seek understanding and action through your other associations in church, school, work, and play. Impatient adults often excuse the actions of youth as foolish, inexperienced, and irresponsible, especially in matters of a fast-changing world. *And so in all you do, youth should be well informed but reasonable, be compassionate but temperate, be zealous but act wisely.*

Possible projects for you and your group ▶▶▶

Panels, interviews, forums, workshops: An opportunity to include wh and minority group leaders (ministers, doctors, lawyers, school teache businessmen, politicians, etc.) from your own community in discussions how we may improve communication and opportunities for all. Discussio might center around particular community problems. What is important that the leadership include both majority and minority group members.

Exchange visits with other youth groups: In the normal course of pr graming, it is customary to exchange visits with other groups. Such e changes can be planned with nearby youth groups which have in the membership persons of minority group background. Such progra mo cases probably ought not to deal with the issue of race relations, but rath should involve the normal program of the group. Not until two groups ha had enough experiences together to feel at ease with one another shou frank discussion of racial problems be tackled. You might also consid exchanges of choirs, teachers, or ministers.

Walking tours: Contact a church or social agency in a predominant minority group community. Under the guidance of an informed person wh is familiar with the area and its problems, look at housing, recreation facilities, schools, shops, cultural centers, etc. Follow this up with a meetin with minority group leaders to discuss what civic action is needed or being carried out. Ask what your group can do to help out, if possible.

Week-end work camps: Purpose is to help repair or rehabilitate hom school, church property, etc., in cooperation with those who live ther Invite in experts from community and social agencies to discuss neighbo hood problems and possible solutions. Cooperative housing and me preparation for group participants, plus recreation and worship, should b part of the plan. Aid from another local church, local council of churche or social welfare agencies can be sought in setting up such an experienc Some community centers have regularly scheduled week-end work camps.

Study trips: It is possible to plan a study trip for a close-up view o other communities or areas of the country (see pages 16-19). For example it is possible to visit the nearest large city. A period of careful preparatio and advance planning, and good group discipline, plus sensitivity, openne and a spirit of goodwill are essential ingredients of such a project. Grou desiring such a trip might consult with another church group, conferenc or national Christian education staff. Consider visiting youth groups of sim lar economic and educational background as your own.

Direct action projects: Invite leaders of local branches of national huma rights movements (see page 58) to learn of their local activities, thei philosophy, and their methods of procedure. Do not join, as an individua or as a group, in local direct action projects unless you are clear in your ow mind and heart that what you are doing is right. Your effectiveness as demonstrator, a picket, or a worker is hampered if you cannot withstan the mental, emotional, and physical test of intense encounter with op ponents of equal rights and with those who oppose your methods but no your goals. Many demonstrators have had special training in how to stan

FOR EXTRA READING

A Pictorial History of the Negro in America by Langston Hughes and Milton Meltzer. Complete information with exciting photos and prints. Crown Publishers, $5.95.

Bible and Race by Chester L. Marcus. A pamphlet. Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ, five cents.

Catalog of Resources. Excellent bibliography of books, pamphlets, reprints and audio-visual aids on racial discrimination. National Conference on Religion and Race (1963) $1.00.

Echo in My Soul by Selma P. Clark. E. P. Dutton & Co., $4.50.

Letter from Birmingham City Jail by Martin Luther King, Jr. American Friends Service Committee, 160 North 15th St., Phila. 2, Pa., 10 cents.

Nobody Knows My Name by James Baldwin. Paperback. Dell Publishing Co. (1961), $1.65.

Racial Prejudice by Cornelius C. Terplee. A senior high study unit. National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 815 Second Ave., New York 17, N. Y. 75 cents.

Register Christian Opinion by Harry S. Campbell. A pamphlet on how to write effective letters to legislators, including lists of congressmen and congressional committees (1963). Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns, 100 Maryland Ave. N.E., Washington 2, D. C., 15 cents.

Sense and Nonsense About Race by Paul J. Alpenfels. An anthropologist writes about race. Friendship Press (57), 50 cents.

Time to Act by President John F. Kennedy. The June 11, 1963 address to the American people on the current racial crisis. Anti-Defamation League, 315 Lexington Ave., New York 16, N. Y., 10 cents.

The Cost of Discipleship by Dietrich Bonhoeffer. An explanation of what real cost is to be a Christian. Paperback. Macmillan Publishing (1963), $1.45.

up and not fight back when someone spits on them. Can you pray for forgiveness for someone who strikes you across the face? Many young people your age have learned to turn the other cheek.

Make a survey of your church, school, community, and state to see where you are in terms of inclusive policies and practices. For example: What kind of laws do you have in your city or state against discrimination? What is the position of your denomination or your church or other churches? What major unmet needs exist in your community? How do we meet these unmet needs?

Go to the source for information: If you're discussing bias in housing, invite a real estate person in your congregation to discuss with minister and social action people his difficulties in his business regarding sales and rental to Negroes. This is a sensitive subject, but it must be met, both to free opportunities for the Negro and to protect the ethical realtor from criticism of his business colleagues. Other sources in your community are your community officials, ministers, teachers, faculty from nearby colleges, community leaders of both minority and majority groups, intergroup agencies, welfare agencies, libraries, etc. Also, make use of films, plays, recordings, books. Write national agencies for additional help (see page 58.)

Marshal public opinion: If you and your group feel that injustice is being done in your community, that no one seems to show interest in doing anything about it, and that few people know about it, try to reach public opinion through writing letters to newspapers and TV stations, attending city council meetings as a group,

calling a press conference, etc. But first be sure that you know what you're talking about. Be certain of your facts, your thinking, your goals.

Letter writing campaign for civil rights legislation: Contact decision-makers, for the leaders in local, state, and national government are generally responsive to letters from their constituents, especially if the letter shows you're well-informed, sensible, and sincere. Your letter should contain: (1) your purpose in writing; (2) your personal observations or facts which explain why you believe as you do; (3) a question which will insure an answer; (4) a request that he state his position on the matter being discussed. Never threaten nor be abusive. Commend him, if possible. The correct form of address when writing a Senator or member of the House of Representatives is:

The Honorable ———— ——. ————
Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D.C.
Dear Senator:

The Honorable ———— ——. ————
House Office Building
Washington 25, D.C.
Dear Congressman:
or
Dear Mr. ————:

The correct form when writing the President is:

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.
Dear Mr. President:

But even better than writing a letter is a face-to-face visit with your mayor or your Representative or your Senator. Whatever happens in Congress or in your local city government is *not* a matter of *private* concern but of great *public* interest. Express your views to the decision-makers. Encourage others to do the same.

WORKING FOR HUMAN RIGHTS!

Congress on Racial Equal (CORE), 38 Park Row, N York 38, N. Y.

National Association for the vancement of Colored Peo (NAACP), 20 Wes[illegible] New York 18, N. Y.

Southern Christian Leaders Conference, (SCLC), 334 burn Ave. N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Southern Regional Council, Forsyth St. N.W., Atlanta 3, G

The Student Non-violent Coor nating Committee, 197½ Aubu St. N.E., Atlanta 2, Ga.

National Urban League, 14 E 48th Street, New York, N. Y.

Committee on Racial Justi Now, (United Church of Chris 289 Park Ave. S., New York N. Y.

Council for Christian Social A tion, (United Church of Chris 289 Park Ave. S., New York N. Y.

Department of Racial and C tural Relations, (National Cou cil of Churches), 475 Riversi Drive, New York 27, N. Y.

Emergency Commission on R ligion and Race, (National Cou cil of Churches), 475 Riversi Drive, New York 27, N. Y.

National Conference on Religi and Race, 150 Fifth Ave., N York 11, N. Y.

And others, including hum rights agencies, sponsored labor, Jewish, Catholic, and e nic groups, governmental ag cies (national, state and loca United Nations agencies.

Volunteer your services as a group in vital community service or action projects sponsored by local social, civic, or governmental agencies. For suggestions on how you and your group can help, check with your community nurse, or others working to improve conditions for minority groups.

Study the history of a minority group: Much of the history of various minority groups, and of prejudice itself, is unknown because it is either treated not at all, or superficially, or with bias in our current textbooks. Invite a minister or teacher from a minority group who can share in your study. Share the results with classmates at school, if your teacher approves.

Role play tense situations: Try to put yourself in another person's shoes and attempt to see how he or she feels and responds. Although this experience is second-hand, it can help to push our thinking beyond the superficial.

What does the Bible say? In your group at church or in the privacy of your personal devotions at home, select a few of the following passages for study: Gen. 1: 26-27; Matt. 5: 23-24; Matt. 22: 35-40; Matt. 23: 8-12; Luke 15; John 3: 16-21; Acts 17: 22-29; Romans 12; Romans 13; 1 Cor. 13; 2 Cor. 5: 16-21; Galatians 3: 26-28; Phil. 2: 1-13.

What's the mission of the church? Each church needs to take an honest look at itself and perhaps your youth group might spark such a self-study. Ask: What is our central business here at our church? How do we come to know our central business as a church? Why do we have organizations in our church that hinder this central business of the church when a problem is burning away within our community? Shouldn't we be discussing the problem that disturbs our town the most? Is it the church's business to help shape the community or should the community help shape the church? Why can't we reorganize our church to study for six months what the church is really all about?

Brotherhood booth at fair: At a local fair, carnival, Chamber of Commerce project, county fair, or some such environment for exhibits, have a Brotherhood booth with films, posters, literature, folk songs, hootenanny. With adults and youth working together, this could be an effective educational project. If possible, make it integrated.

College Bowl quiz on phrases: As part of a program, have a type of College Bowl quiz on terms and phrases now in current usage in the field of human relations. What is the meaning of: poll tax, Mrs. Murphy's Boarding House, scapegoating, cultural democracy, civil disobedience, Apartheid, Aryanism, FEPC, NAACP, Martin Luther King, Black Muslims, Stereotype, Uncle Tomism, sit-in, wade-in, Freedom Riders, desegregation, Carpetbagger, quota-system, harassment, discrimination, local human relations agency, Bill of Rights, cultural pluralism, social distance, de facto segregation, 14th Amendment to the Constitution, state's rights, ghetto, Congrelization, 1954, etc. Add to this list yourself.

Provide literature for your church: Make available such material as your denomination's latest statement on racial justice, or brotherhood posters, or pamphlets or inexpensive but helpful publications from your denominational racial action agencies (see pages 56 and 58).

WE MARCHED IN WASHINGTON

ugust 28, 1963

6:0 m. Nothing looks good at this hour but a pillow. As the ock- adio snaps on, however, an impromptu freedom song fills our edroom. "The civil rights demonstrators have already begun to as- emble . . . ," the announcer says, and we are instantly awake. Rex has escheduled his patients and taken the day off, so he makes me get up rst.

8:00 a. m. The instructions suggest peanut butter and jelly sand- iches, but I can only find jelly. Rex is rummaging through the closet or a pair of sneakers, the baby sitter is feeding our eight-months-old on, and Jeffrey is drawing circles on the woodwork with his zwieback. s I reach out the door for the morning paper, a hand reaches out from nother apartment and a woman makes a joke about a good day to stay ome with the doors locked. When I tell her we are participating in the arch, two eyes blink unbelievingly and the head, the hand, and the ewspaper disappear.

9:00 a. m. Jogging along the highway in a minister-neighbor's station agon. He and his wife have two children of their own and four adopted -two Japanese-Negro, one Korean, one French-German—and who ould better testify that different races and nationalities can live har- oniously together? We speculate about the possibility of violence. We call a disarmament demonstration at which George Lincoln Rockwell, ader of the American Nazi Party, and his band marched into the park ith their swastika banners and nearly drowned out the speaker with enzied fascist oratory. A similar incident today could mean serious ouble with an expected crowd of one-hundred thousand. Rockwell sists he will come.

10:15 a. m. We are sitting in the balcony of a crowded church, look- g down on a salt and pepper mixture of demonstrator-worshippers. e pray that our message will reach the hearts of all Americans. "He at sees but does not bear witness is accursed," says the minister.

11:00 a. m. "Glory, glory, hallelujah!" we sing as our chartered bus lls down the streets of the capital. We are packed in like 54 pieces of ow macaroni. Someone starts our national anthem. Rex says, "Okay, erybody, up on your feet," and we laugh (those of us who can still

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"The real problem

move our stomachs). An old man stan
ing on a street corner waves his h
There are buses ahead and behind as
as we can see—all going in the same
rection.

11:30 a. m. Like a great white [illegible] the Washington Monument points sk
ward. On the lawn below are more pe
ple than we have ever seen at one tim
Banners and arm bands bob up a
down. We buy two black lapel pins wi
simple white equal (=) signs on the
A group of high-school students dra
signs on each others' foreheads wi
black crayon, then crowd around tw
guitar players who are strumming th
chords of *We Shall Overcome.* Whi
ministers from the deep South arri
with their banner, and those of us stan
ing nearby applaud. We line up 12 abrea
for our march to the Lincoln Memoria
Someone dubs our row "The Apostles
We can't see the march begin but w
sense it, and suddenly we surge forwar
banners held high.

12:00 noon. We sing *Jacob's Ladde*
and laugh at the end "Apostle" wh
keeps bumping into trees. We find ou
that the family behind us is from Ne
York, and the man in front from Cal
fornia. We make room for late come
who hurry to catch up. And when w
come within view of the Lincoln Me
morial, with the statue of the Grea
Emancipator mirrored in the reflectin
pool, we lock arms and sing *Americ*
There have been many occasions th
morning when our eyes filled with tear

bigotry and hatred, but silence"

ut as I steal a look at the Negro woman beside me, her brown face adiant as she sings, "Sweet land of liberty," I weep.

12:30 p. m. Two enormous waves of demonstrators march along oth sides of the reflecting pool. We sit down on the grass to eat. unc' are shared with strangers polite "Excuse me's" when someone ostles another; a weary arm tires beneath a banner and five other arms noot up to assist. As Rex and I dangle our legs in the reflecting pool, ooking across at thousands of other legs, white and black, we muse that incoln would be glad to know this pool is integrated.

2:00 p. m. The program this afternoon will become historic. Burt ancaster, Harry Belafonte, Odetta, Marian Anderson, Mahalia Jackon, Josh White. There are congressmen present, church leaders, and reedom riders who have been in southern jails. The whole world is stening. One speaker declares, "Anyone who cannot understand the gnificance of your presence here is blind and deaf." A Negro woman ledges, "We will sit in, kneel in, lie in until every Negro in America has ie right to vote." Someone announces that not only 100,000 but 00,000 marchers came, and we all go wild.

3:00 p. m. We clap to the song *Oh, Freedom.* We hum to "How any times must a man look up before he can see the sky?" And as ie program draws to a close, we stand side by side around the reflectg pool and pledge in a mighty chorus to continue the battle for full quality when we return home. The organ thunders out across the lent water and we join hands and sing the words of the song which as become the anthem of freedom marchers: ". . . Deep in my heart, do believe, we shall overcome some day."

4:00 p. m. Deep in my heart, I am both proud and ashamed to be an merican—proud that such a demonstration is possible, ashamed it is ecessary. The march has been a peaceful one. George Lincoln Rockell arrived with only 74 of the 10,000 segregationists he vowed to ring, and they were kept from interfering by the police. Heading back the bus, we pass a Negro woman looking down on the thousands of archers gathered beneath one of the most beautiful skies Washington as ever seen. "It's just as if somebody prayed," she says happily. But e struggle, we know, has just begun. And every American has a part play. "The real problem," a rabbi warned, "is not bigotry and hatred, it silence."—PHYLLIS NAYLOR

racial justice now!

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French sculptor, Auguste Rodin, envisioned two right hands reaching up in harmony as "The Cathedral."